THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XVII JANUARY, 1940 NUMBER 1

GOVERNOR VANCE AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT

By RICHARD E. YATES

Part I

In the closing weeks of 1863 Governor Zebulon B. Vance found himself confronted with a problem so grave and so complicated that an ill-advised solution of it might easily have ruined his political career. He was compelled to make a decision, momentous not only for himself but for his State and the Confederacy as well. Should he align himself with what he thought was a majority of his people and demand that the war be stopped, even if the South had to content itself with a settlement short of independence; or should he break loose from a number of his most influential supporters, do his best to crush the peace movement, and perhaps find himself defeated in the 1864 gubernatorial election? It required many anxious days, filled with correspondence and interviews with his advisers, before the popular young governor could answer this question and plot his political course.

Vance had been elected in August, 1862, by the old Whigs, Know-Nothings, and disgruntled Democrats (organized into the Conservative party), many of whom were opposed to important Confederate policies[1] and who voted for Vance as an expression of their dissatisfaction with the Confederate and state administrations. It should not be supposed, however, that Vance ran on a platform of opposition to Davis's administration, or that his victory was an indication that the people of North Carolina were tired of the war and ready to make peace.

[1] Such as the conscription act and the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

Leaders of the Confederate (Democratic) party, it is true, asserted that a vote for Vance was a vote against the Confederacy, and Conservative party leaders complained more about Davis's administration than was perhaps necessary in a state campaign. But both sides were engaged in those political maneuvers which are more effective than logical; and Vance never indicated, by speech or letter, that he was opposed to any Confederate policies. Thus, when he was elected by a large majority, he was in a peculiarly fortunate position: he had profited from the dissatisfaction with the Confederate administration, but he had not obligated himself to lead the dissatisfied group.

For a while after the governor's inauguration in September, 1862, the political scene in North Carolina was smooth and unruffled. In his inaugural address Vance announced his determination to prosecute the war with vigor, and leaders of both parties hastened to give evidence of their support. Before many months of 1863 had elapsed, however, some influential members of the Conservative party began severely to criticize the Confederate administration and to demand a peace with the North. This was the beginning of that ominous peace movement which split the Conservative party, placed North Carolina in a bad light with her confederates, and piled upon Vance's shoulders responsibilities such as he had never before borne.

Ever since the war began there had of course been some discontent in North Carolina, sporadic and unorganized though it was. But by the opening months of 1863 this discontent and longing for peace had found a leader in William W. Holden, editor of the Raleigh *Standard*, organizer of the Conservative party, and one of the most astute politicians in the State.[2] Even after his party had triumphed in the gubernatorial election of 1862, he continued to attack the Confederate administration with ever increasing vigor. He was especially displeased by the execution of the conscription laws, the impressment of supplies, the arbitrary acts of Confederate officers,

[2] Just what motives inspired the conduct of Holden between 1863 and the end of the war, the records do not reveal, but they strongly suggest that he hoped to create a political storm which would sweep him into the governor's chair. Some believed that he was a Unionist at heart and hoped to carry the State back into the Federal Union. See Tatum, Georgia Lee, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill, 1934), p. 133.

and the allegedly unfair treatment accorded his State. "North Carolina is badly treated," he wrote. "She is ignored. She has no voice in the cabinet. She is raked for conscripts as with a fine-tooth comb. Her troops are always placed in the forefront of the hottest battles. . . . North Carolina must be the equal of the other states of the Confederacy, or she will leave it, and endeavor to take care of herself."[3]

This was not the first time that Holden had presumed to speak for the whole State, but perhaps it was the first time he had threatened to take North Carolina out of the Southern Confederacy. Such an extreme position, however, was hardly tenable, and a few days later he veered his course by demanding that the Confederate authorities open negotiations for peace. "The people of both sections," he declared, "are tired of war and desire peace. We desire it on terms honorable to our section and we cannot expect it on terms dishonorable to the other section." The friends of peace in both the North and the South, he urged, "should give utterance to their own views, and should thus pave the way for negotiations, to which both sections must at last come, as the only means for closing the contest."[4] A few weeks later Holden severely criticized the Richmond administration for "its incapacity, its mismanagement of our affairs," and expressed the despondent view that the South would be defeated and reconstructed. Moreover, "if the people of this State, with subjugation or restoration staring them in the face as alternatives, should sadly and reluctantly accept the latter, it would not be in our power to prevent it, even if we would."[5]

Throughout the summer of 1863, and until he temporarily suspended publication in September, Holden continued his policy of criticizing the Confederate government, calling attention to North Carolina's "mistreatment," and demanding that peace negotiations be opened.

Just what would constitute an "honorable peace," he refrained from explaining, but some of the newspapers were certain that he was planning for a reunion with the United States.

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[3] *Weekly Standard* (Raleigh), June 3, 1863. (Files of all newspapers used in this study will be found in the North Carolina State Library, Raleigh.)
[4] *Weekly Standard*, June 24, 1863.
[5] *Ibid.*, July 29, 1863; see also issue of August 19, 1863.

This charge he vigorously denied. "We are not in favor of 'reunion with our enemies,'" he declared, "or of 'submission to them.'"[6] A number of political observers were convinced, however, that Holden was preparing for the State's reëntry into the Union. "The Gov. and the Legislature," Treasurer Jonathan Worth wrote to his brother, in August, 1863, "stood pretty square on the Conservative Platform 'The last man and the last dollar' rather than reconstruction. Holden was himself committed to it, but he believed the masses were for reconstruction; and while he disavows it as yet, is slowly shaping his sails for this current. . . . He will be ready to ride on the storm. I draw this inference, not from anything he has said, but from the fact that his worst enemies who are not stupid, accord to him superior understanding, great sagacity, and his demand for peace movements, on any other supposition, are absurd."[7]

While Holden was "slowly shaping his sails" for the reconstruction tempest, he was given considerable support by another Raleigh editor, who also denied being in favor of reunion. J. L. Pennington, editor of *The Daily Progress*, preceded even Holden in his demands for peace. He believed in April, 1863, "that a settlement on the basis of separation may be had if the people of the two sections favorable to peace be allowed to express their wishes."[8] The next step was taken in May, when the editor denied being in favor of reconstruction, but issued a demand for "peace—now—and upon any terms consistent with the rights and honor of our section."[9] A few weeks later the editor of the *Progress*, who apparently had close connections with Holden, made another step in the direction of peace. "We have thought for the last eight months," he wrote, "that it would be better for us to have peace upon any terms that would not absolutely degrade us than prolong the struggle, but power in this country has passed from the people, North and South, and we see no chance for peace but in the exhaustion and defeat of one of the parties."[10] This somewhat vague appeal to the people was clarified in a later

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6 *Weekly Standard*, July 29, 1863.
7 Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac (editor), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth* (Raleigh, 1909), I, 254.
8 *The Daily Progress* (Raleigh), April 8, 1863.
9 *Ibid.*, May 1, 1863.
10 *Ibid.*, July 29, 1863.

issue, when the *Progress* revealed its plan of obtaining a negotiated peace by suggesting that the states of both sections appoint commissioners, who would meet and agree upon a peace which was to be ratified by a majority of the people.[11]

While the editors of the *Standard* and the *Progress* were pleading for peace and denouncing the Confederate government for not opening negotiations with a victorious enemy, a large number of public meetings were held in the central and western counties of the State during the month of August, 1863, in which resolutions were passed demanding that the authorities negotiate for peace. Since the meetings in more than twenty counties were held within a few days of one another and since they adopted resolutions in striking conformity with the editorial policies of the *Standard* and the *Progress*, there can be little doubt that these newspapers had some connection with the meetings. It is extremely doubtful whether citizens so far removed from one another as those in Henderson and Greene counties would have met at the same time and would have adopted almost identical resolutions, unless some hand of leadership had moved between them.[12]

Indeed, the resolutions of most of the meetings seemed to bear a common stamp. In the first section the Confederate government was denounced for the many abuses growing out of conscription, impressments, the tax-in-kind, and the appointment of men from other states to hold office in North Carolina.[13] The second section of most of the resolutions demanded negotiations for an "honorable peace," but there was little uniformity in the methods of negotiation suggested. A Johnston County meeting asked for a general convention of all the states of the former Union.[14] Some citizens of Yadkin County urged "our authorities to take some steps that will accomplish a speedy and lasting peace, as we think there has been blood enough spilt, and the country is near enough exhausted." This meeting resolved, moreover, "That we request our State authorities to call a State convention forthwith for the purpose of effecting a peace."[15] In Surry County a meeting openly em-

[11] *Ibid.*, August 10, 1863.
[12] On this point, see *The Weekly Raleigh Register*, August 5, 12, 1863.
[13] See proceedings of these meetings in the *Weekly Standard*, August 12, 1863.
[14] *Loc. cit.*
[15] *Loc. cit.*

braced reconstruction when it resolved "That in our opinion, under the circumstances, the best thing the people of North-Carolina could do would be to go in for the 'Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was.' "[16] Some citizens of Davidson County were so sanguine that they unwittingly offered a bit of comic relief. They "requested" Jefferson Davis "to suspend hostilities, and propose a Convention of all the States" to obtain peace.[17]

Diverse as the second sections of the resolutions were, there was remarkable uniformity in the concluding sections. They invariably praised Holden and gave his newspaper the first authority to publish the resolutions.[18] In this respect the peace meetings were rarely disappointed, for in the single issue of August 12 Holden published the proceedings of more than ten of the meetings. Several newspapers in the State thought it apparent that Holden was organizing a political party which he intended to lead in the election of 1864.[19] "If Gov. Vance cannot see the drift of all this," the *State Journal* declared, "if he will not see that Holden's object is to shelve him at the expiration of his first term and become a candidate himself, we can't help it."[20]

Regardless of the political motives that may have inspired Holden, he received not a little aid from Jonathan Worth, state treasurer and a Unionist who longed for the death of the Confederacy and for reconstruction. Late in July, 1863, when the *Standard* was approaching dangerously near to treason, Worth cautiously fostered the peace movement by encouraging his friends to aid it. To Jesse G. Henshaw, of Randolph County, he sent assurances that the *Standard* was the most powerful and influential newspaper in the State, and urged him to send in two hundred new subscribers from Randolph. "Every one desiring peace," he wrote, "can contribute something to this end by encouraging and sustaining the only paper which dares advocate it on a plan offering any hope of success."[21] A few

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[16] *Weekly Standard*, August 12, 1863.
[17] *Ibid.*, August 19, 1863.
[18] *Ibid.*, August 12, 1863. For some unexplained reason, the *Progress* did not publish the proceedings of the meetings until late in January, 1864.
[19] *The Weekly Raleigh Register*, August 12, 1863.
[20] *The Weekly State Journal* (Raleigh), August 5, 1863.
[21] Hamilton (editor), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, I, 245.

weeks later he informed Henshaw that he was "for peace on *almost any terms* and fear we shall not have it until the Yankees dictate it." He favored the peace meetings, therefore, because he saw "no other chance to get an early end of this wicked war, but by the action of the masses who have the fighting to do."[22] To his brother, J. M. Worth, the treasurer sent assurances that Holden was not stirring up trouble, but was merely representing and leading those who longed for peace. "The editor," he explained, "has always understood the popular mind better than anybody else and always keeps up the right sail to catch the breeze."[23]

Despite this charitable view of Holden's activities, it seems probable that the editor of the *Standard* did more than merely "catch the breeze"; in some instances he caught it and stirred it into a whirlwind by his fierce denunciation of the Richmond administration and by his repeated demands for peace negotiations. Many officers of the army were convinced that the editorials of the *Standard* and the *Progress* added to the desertion which so decreased the power of the Confederacy,[24] and on several occasions captured deserters stated just before their execution that reading the *Standard* had induced them to abandon their comrades.[25] By indirect means also the peace meetings and the editorials of the *Standard* were probably responsible for more desertion. In the western counties of the State a number of persons, convinced that North Carolina would soon secede from the Confederacy, urged their sons, husbands, and brothers in the army to come home.[26]

Aside from increasing desertion, the peace movement encouraged the North to continue its efforts to subjugate the South, for the movement strengthened the belief that the Confederacy was torn by dissension and would soon be too weak for resistance.[27] Reports of the disaffection in North Carolina spread as far as England, and were so distorted that they

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 258.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 253.
[24] *The Daily Progress*, August 11, 1863.
[25] *Weekly Confederate* (Raleigh), February 24, 1864; Lieutenant I. M. Goff to Colonel Bryan Grimes, February 9, 1864. Governor's Papers, Zebulon B. Vance, 1864, February, MS. (All manuscript sources used in this study will be found in the archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh.)
[26] *The Western Democrat* (Charlotte), February 9, 1864; *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. XXIII, Pt. II, p. 952.
[27] Davis to Vance, August 22, 1863. Z. B. Vance Papers, III. MS.; *The Weekly Raleigh Register*, March 25, 1863.

even pictured Vance as disgusted with secession and desirous of reunion.[28]

Since the peace movement promised to be so dangerous in its effects and since it showed slight chance of leading to an "honorable peace," most of the important newspapers of the State turned upon the editor of the *Standard* and vigorously attacked his policies. In this editorial assault, which lasted from June, 1863, until near the end of the following year, the state press overlooked few opportunities to make Holden appear odious in the eyes of the people. Many newspapers insinuated that he was a traitor, and some made the charge outright.[29] Nor did his personal character escape unscathed. The *State Journal* referred to him as a "desperate and despicable blackleg,"[30] while the *Register* described him as an "unscrupulous and crafty editor," who appealed to the "vulgar prejudices" of the disaffected, "by whom he lives, and moves, and has his being."[31] A week later the editor of the *Register*, who had moved his newspaper to Petersburg, wrote a short biography of Holden in which he declared that the editor's parents did not deem "it necessary to have their union legalized by a ceremony performed by either Priest or 'Squire.'"[32]

But the most persistent and widespread attacks upon Holden ignored personalities and condemned the peace movement which he was leading. "We favor 'peace,'" the *Milton Chronicle* observed, "but how in the deuce can *we grant* 'peace' without cowardly giving up everything we are contending for?"[33] To the *Wilmington Journal* it was apparent that the movement would lead to submission and reconstruction, for if each of the states commenced negotiations with the "consolidated despotism of Abraham Lincoln," an opening wedge would be made "that will be driven home until it rends us asunder."[34]

Of all the newspapers in the State which attacked Holden, none but the *Fayetteville Observer* attempted to reason with him. The *Observer* never forgot that Holden had been partly

[28] *The Daily Progress*, October 17, 1863; Francis Lawley to Vance, December 22, 1863. Z. B. Vance Papers, III.
[29] *The Western Democrat*, September 1, 1863; *The Weekly Raleigh Register*, July 29, 1863.
[30] *The Weekly State Journal*, July 8, 1863.
[31] *The Weekly Register* (Petersburg), October 17, 1863.
[32] *Ibid.*, October 23, 1863.
[33] Quoted by *The Weekly State Journal*, August 5, 1863.
[34] *Wilmington Journal*, November 26, 1863.

responsible for the election of Vance in 1862, and hopes were entertained that the great power of the *Standard* might be thrown against the peace movement. In a long and conciliatory editorial, the *Observer* appealed to the *Standard*, "to its good sense, its love of country, its every feeling of humanity, to use its influence to discountenance the meetings which its friends are holding in various parts of the state."[35] Although meeting with a rebuff,[36] the patient editor persisted in his efforts. Early in September, 1863, he wrote Holden a friendly letter, urging him to abandon the peace movement which was causing desertion, producing defiance of the laws, and arraying "the people almost in deadly strife."[37] Holden soon indicated, however, that he had no intention of discouraging the peace movement, and the *Observer* then joined the Raleigh editor's other enemies and attacked him with a will.[38]

In the meantime the Confederate authorities were becoming alarmed over the peace movement in North Carolina. Late in July President Davis received a letter from "one of the most distinguished citizens" in the State, who informed him that "trouble is fast brewing here and I fear we shall soon have open resistance to the government under the leadership of that reckless politician, Holden, Editor of the *Standard*." Davis immediately wrote Vance, enclosed an excerpt of the letter, and declared that "the case is quite grave enough for me to consult with you on the subject, . . ."[39] Vance approved this suggestion for a personal interview, and early in August he went to Richmond to see the President. Despite the importance of this interview, no record of it remains except that which is contained in a letter from Vance to Hale. "I returned from Richmond on Saturday," the governor wrote hurriedly. "Was much gratified with my visit indeed—I plainly told the President of the cause of his unpopularity in this State and the injustice done us by his appointments and gave him a fair & unvarnished statement of affairs here—He promised to remove all objectionable men and almost gave me a *carte blanche* for the redress

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[35] *Fayetteville Observer*, August 17, 1863.
[36] *Semi-Weekly Standard*, August 25, 1863, quoted by *ibid.*, October 26, 1863.
[37] This letter has not been found, but a communication from Editor Hale to Vance on September 9, 1863 (Z. B. Vance Papers, III), gives the substance of it.
[38] See the issues of the *Fayetteville Observer* during September, 1863.
[39] Davis to Vance, July 24, 1863. Z. B. Vance Papers, II.

of grievances here—I trust that things will be better now that we are understood at Richmond."[40]

If Vance, as this letter intimates, told Davis that the cause of the trouble in North Carolina lay in presidential appointments, then he did both himself and the President a great injustice. He must have known that the peace movement was caused by policies and conditions which grew out of the war—impressment of supplies, conscription, scarcity of food products, high prices, Union sentiment, and the death of fathers and husbands and sons on the battlefield—together with the agitation led by Holden and his friends.

Long before making the journey to Richmond, Vance had already shown in his correspondence with Hale that the activities of Holden caused him great worry, and he intimated that some measures should be taken to cope with the peace movement, although for several months he could not bring himself to break with the man who edited the organ of his own party. "I wish to talk with you about some matters," he wrote, "seriously affecting the status of the party which elevated me to office, and perhaps the good of the Confederate cause itself, and I hardly wish to put any thing I desire to say on paper."[41]

Subsequent correspondence fails to reveal whether or not Hale appeared for the interview, but it is certain that the governor's anxiety continued. He prevailed upon Ex-Governors William A. Graham and D. L. Swain to talk with Holden and attempt to turn him from his course. Aside from revealing the goal towards which the editor was proceeding, however, the appeals of Vance's friends did little good. "He pretends & may be really of opinion," the governor informed Hale, "that 4/5ths of the people are ready for reconstruction & says he is only following the people not leading them. . . ." Vance himself had a "very long talk" with Holden, but he had no effect upon that determined man except to obtain a promise that he would "say in his paper that he was not my organ in this matter and did not speak my sentiments." The governor thought it all important, he continued in his letter to Hale, "that the people should know my sentiments," for the delusion that he and

[40] Vance to Hale, August 11, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, II.
[41] Vance to Hale, June 10, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, II.

Holden agreed on the peace movement "likely accounts for much of his popularity." "I do not see much help for a split," Vance concluded mournfully. "I fear it must come, tho' Holden says he will not make it. I wish very much you would write to our prominent men to use their influence with him."[42]

While Vance was trying to kill the peace movement by persuading Holden to abandon it, newspapers and influential men were advising the young governor to repudiate the editor of the *Standard* and to assure the people that he stood for a continuation of the war until the South had won its independence. "Let the people but stand by President Davis and Gov. Vance," advised the *State Journal*, organ of the moribund Confederate party, "and let the Governor discard the evil associations to which he is exposed, and set the people a proper example in this matter."[43] A month later the *Journal* directly addressed the governor and demanded that he openly oppose the peace movement. It was agreed, that newspaper declared, that Vance was "a true man, faithful to the cause of Southern Independence. But unfortunately for you, you have been supported by some, whose whole course since the war began, has been that of *steady* and *real* opposition to Southern independence, . . ." The political association between Vance and Holden should be broken, and the dissolution of the partnership should be publicly announced. "YOU MUST NOW TAKE SOME WELL-DEFINED POSITION. You cannot be neutral where the safety and honor of the State are concerned."[44]

The Confederate chaplain at Raleigh, in a letter to Editor Hale, also expressed the opinion that Vance should openly break his political relations with Holden. "Governor Vance must now take some position," wrote the chaplain; "he cannot idly stand by and see our cause lost in this State. . . . I beg of you . . . to advise him . . . and to do it without ceasing. I believe him to be a true man to our cause, but perhaps he may lack nerve and strength of character."[45] Before he received this letter, however, Hale advised Vance that, unless the *Standard* could be induced to change its course, the governor

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[42] Vance to Hale, July 26, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, II.
[43] *The Weekly State Journal*, June 24, 1863.
[44] *The Weekly State Journal*, July 29, 1863.
[45] Frederick Fitzgerald to E. J. Hale, July 24, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, II.

would be under the necessity of "letting it be known on all suitable occasions, & in all proper ways, that you and your friends do not only not conive [*sic*] with it but most decidedly condemn its course."[46] A few days later Vance wrote the Fayetteville editor that "the split with Holden is decreed of the Gods—I have made up my mind to it and am preparing for it any day—tho' I don't intend to 'precipitate' it. . . . He is for submission, reconstruction or anything else that will put him back under Lincoln & stop the war— . . ." Unwilling to initiate the break himself, Vance nevertheless advised Hale to begin an editorial assault upon the editor of the *Standard*. "Pitch into him," he urged. "Cry aloud and spare not—My life popularity and everything shall go into this contest."[47]

Although cheered by these brave words from Vance, the editor of the *Fayetteville Observer* was not altogether pleased at the intimation of "a conclusion not to issue an address or Proclamation, that shall distinctly draw a line between yourself and all disaffected. I am persuaded that no time is to be lost, if you would put a stop to the use of *your* popularity & influence by your enemies & the enemies of the cause."[48]

In accordance with Hale's advice, Vance determined upon the publication of an open letter which, once and for all, would draw a line between himself and Holden. In reply to a communication from John H. Haughton, of Chatham County, this seventeen-page letter presented a bold statement of Vance's attitude towards the peace movement. "I can only look upon propositions of peace coming from us," he wrote, "no matter how pure & patriotic the motive which induces them, as involving national dishonor, ruin and disgrace." Apparently referring to the editor of the *Standard*, Vance declared that "there may be a designing few who desire to take advantage of the suffering and patriotic many to lead them into this inevitable ruin with hopes of peace."[49] Having written a long, unequivocal letter which would separate him from Holden's views, Vance then made a strange move indeed. He showed the letter to Holden and asked his opinion of it. The editor,

[46] Hale to Vance, July 24, 1863. Z. B. Vance Papers, II.
[47] Vance to Hale, August 11, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, II.
[48] Hale to Vance, August 13, 1863. Z. B. Vance Papers, III.
[49] Vance to John H. Haughton, August 17, 1863. Z. B. Vance Papers, III. See also a revision of the letter filed under the date of August 21, 1863.

as he later recalled, thought it "very extreme and violent," an "ultra war letter . . . calculated to dim the prospects of peace between the two sections," and advised against its publication.[50] The governor then sent the letter to William A. Graham for his advice as to whether it should be published. Graham replied that he saw no necessity for any public declaration on Vance's part, as the governor's position was well known and as he enjoyed the confidence of both the political parties in the State.[51]

While the governor was completing the Haughton letter, with the apparent intention of publishing it, a variety of influences were brought to bear upon him. The Raleigh *Register*, quoting from the Richmond *Dispatch*, declared that, although the governor had derived considerable political support from the ranks of the peace advocates, "Vance has proved to be one of the most true and firm of leading Southern men."[52] On the same day Holden charged that the authorities at Richmond were attempting to effect a breach between Vance and "the great body of his friends" in North Carolina. Holden professed to believe that the governor would stand by his friends and would maintain his record "against all the selfish and seductive influences which may be brought to bear upon him."[53] From his brother, General R. B. Vance, the governor received the advice to kill Holden's power by letting him alone;[54] and from C. H. Wiley, superintendent of the state public school system, came the opinion that "the vast majority of these peace men are loyal—they only need better knowledge, & *assurance of a free government to fight for.*"[55]

Puzzled by the conflicting advice he received and enmeshed in a political situation which would have taxed the resources of a more mature man, the young governor was on the verge of despair. He decided, however, to continue his Fabian policy of letting the next day take care of itself, and accordingly he suspended the publication of the Haughton letter—a public announcement which would have clearly informed the State that

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50 Boyd, W. K. (editor), *Memoirs of W. W. Holden* (Durham, N. C., 1911), pp. 23, 24.
51 Graham to Vance, August 21, 1863. Z. B. Vance Papers, III.
52 *The Weekly Raleigh Register*, August 19, 1863.
53 *Weekly Standard*, August 19, 1863.
54 R. B. Vance to Z. B. Vance, August 24, 1863. Z. B. Vance Papers, III.
55 C. H. Wiley to Vance, August 22, 1863. *Ibid.*, III.

he opposed the peace movement. Still his difficulties increased, for the decision to keep the Haughton letter a secret was little more than a refusal "to take up arms against a sea of troubles, and by opposing end them." With great anxiety, he again appealed to William A. Graham. "But Sir," he wrote, "I am really much distressed and harrassed [*sic*]. The crisis is fast approaching and hardly any two friends agree in their advice. . . . If you can come I would be glad to appoint the day most convenient for you, and write Mr. Hale, Mr. Reade,[56] Mr. Gilmer,[57] or any others to meet you here. God knows I desire to do my duty and for the best, but this matter is one of great delicacy and a mistake might be fatal.[58]

After all the conferences and correspondence with his friends and advisers, Vance was exactly where he had started two months before. He had made no move to arrest the peace movement, which he knew was fraught with great danger, and apparently he could think of no way in which the influence of Holden could be curbed. For fear of making a mistake he did nothing but issue a call for another conference, which was held in the governor's home on September 2. Because of previous engagements neither Reade, Gilmer, nor Hale could attend, but they all sent Vance some more advice. "If anything can be done to quiet the public mind, it ought to be done early," cautiously observed Gilmer.[59] Hale urged Vance "to appeal to the people & if possible arrest the dreadful tendency of things. Cut loose from Holden. He is trading on your capital, & every day strengthening himself by the idea that you & he agree except upon a point of minor importance."[60] Disagreeing with Hale, Reade urged the governor to maintain his political relations with Holden. "He's right," Vance commented, "but scarery."[61]

This conference, like those which preceded it, was very meager in its results. Holden was invited to attend, and for three hours Graham talked earnestly with him. Like a revivalist wrestling with an unbeliever, he urged Holden to with-

[56] A Conservative party leader whom Vance, in January, 1864, appointed to the Confederate Senate.
[57] A Conservative leader and member of the Confederate House of Representatives.
[58] Vance to Graham, August 24, 1863. William A. Graham Papers, 1860-1864.
[59] J. A. Gilmer to Graham, August 29, 1863. *Ibid.*
[60] Hale to Vance, September 2, 1863. Z. B. Vance Papers, III.
[61] Vance to Hale, September 7, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, III.

draw his support from the peace movement, but the effort was all in vain. "It would do no good," Vance wrote Hale. "He would agree to nothing & insisted that the meetings should go on and I nor no one else must say a word! Modest proposition truly. I offered to keep silent if he would discourage the meetings—would not agree to it."[62] At length it was agreed that Vance should issue a proclamation which would condemn defiance of the conscription and tithing laws and would discourage the peace meetings. "Gov. Graham was clear that I should issue a proclamation," Vance informed Hale, "but insisted it should be very mild and cautious." The governor followed Graham's advice, but he confessed he did not produce the document which his own judgment would have dictated. Even under these conditions, however, he thought the influence of Holden and his followers could be fought successfully. "From my letters, and my own knowledge of the men holding these meetings, the *metal* is very small—I expect the peace men really have a majority to start with, but the *brains* are largely with us. . . . I am very hopeful of the contest."[63]

On September 8 Vance published his proclamation against those who advised resistance to the laws and urged separate negotiations for peace. In stern language he reminded the people of North Carolina that the laws would be enforced. "Surely, my countrymen," he pleaded, "you would not seek to cure the evils of one revolution by plunging the country into another." But when Vance attempted to warn the organizers of the peace meetings, his words lacked sternness and decision, and one sees how fully the cautious advice of Graham was accepted. All he did in this respect was to urge the people "to abstain from assembling together for the purpose of denouncing each other, whether at home or in the Army, and to avoid seeking any remedy for the Evils of the times, by other than legal means & through the properly constituted authorities."[64]

Little wonder is it that Vance confessed to Hale his dissatisfaction with the proclamation. Issued partly for the purpose of discouraging the peace movement and warning the people to

[62] Vance to Hale, September 2, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, III.
[63] Vance to Hale, September 7, 1863. *Ibid.*
[64] Zebulon B. Vance Letter Book, 1862-1863, pp. 356-358.

abstain from their attempts to call a convention for the separate negotiation of peace, the proclamation seems scarcely to mention these objects. Nor did it "draw a clear line" between Vance and Holden in accordance with the advice of so many of the governor's friends. Instead it gave no intimation that the erstwhile political allies had gone their separate ways, and avoided an excellent opportunity of publicly opposing the policy of Holden. More than three months had elapsed since the peace movement began, but Vance had done virtually nothing except to bewilder and confuse himself with conflicting advice.

It was at this point that the peace movement in North Carolina was attacked from another angle and by an act of violence which was widely denounced—the irresponsible intervention of Confederate arms.

For months the Confederate government had received letters from military officers in North Carolina, informing it of the widespread peace movement and advising the immediate arrest of Holden and other leaders. Both General D. H. Hill and Colonel Peter Mallett, the enrolling officer for the State, informed Secretary Seddon that affairs in North Carolina were fast approaching a crisis.[65] "Four patriotic young ladies" from the western part of the State advised even sterner measures; they petitioned the President to hang Holden "as a just punishment for the circulation of false and disloyal sentiments."[66] Their hopes were destined to be blighted, but the Confederate government was sufficiently alarmed over the situation to send a special investigator to North Carolina. Although the investigator, Lieutenant-Colonel George W. Lay, reported that "military repression" was urgently needed,[67] the civil government of the Confederacy refused to adopt such a dangerous expedient.[68]

Some officers and men of the Confederate army, however, did not draw such fine lines between the province of military force and that of the civil government. On the evening of September 9, 1863, a mob of soldiers from Benning's Georgia brigade

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[65] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, XVIII, 1052, 1053, 1092; XXIX, Pt. II, p. 660.
[66] *The Weekly State Journal*, September 1, 1863.
[67] *Official Records*, Series IV, Vol. II, pp. 783-785.
[68] *Ibid.*, Series IV, Vol. II, p. 786; see also Swiggett, Howard (editor), *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capital by J. B. Jones* (New York, 1935), II, 44.

broke into the *Standard* office, scattered Holden's papers, wrecked everything in the office but the press, and dumped the type into the street. Governor Vance, having been informed that a mob was hunting for Holden's office, raced to the scene on his horse, but he arrived too late to do anything but lecture the soldiers on the liberty of the press. They listened respectfully, gave three lusty cheers when he had finished, and then marched off to their quarters near the railroad depot.[69] When Vance returned to his home, he found the frightened editor of the *Standard*, who had sought protection from a possible attack on his person. Holden praised the governor's bravery in dealing with the troops and quieted his own nerves with some brandy which Vance provided.[70]

Early the following morning the quiet little city was again subjected to a mob. The town bell was rung, and over a hundred of Holden's friends collected at the market place and advanced on the offices of the *State Journal*, whose editor had called for Holden's suppression. Within fifteen minutes the type was scattered in the streets, the furniture was broken, the papers were disarranged, and the press was smashed by blows of heavy sledge hammers.[71] Once more the governor mounted his horse and hastened to the scene of a riot. With great difficulty he persuaded the mob to disperse and not to carry out the threats which it had made against the *Register*, another newspaper opposed to Holden.[72]

After dispersing this mob, Vance telegraphed Davis and asked him to "order immediately that troops passing through here shall not enter the city." Davis promptly complied,[73] but later in the day Vance again telegraphed the President and informed him that "soldiers now on the road from Weldon have indulged in threats of further violence when they reach here. For God's sake save us from this state of things by sending immediate orders to the officers to my care at this place and at Weldon. If you wish to save North Carolina to the Confederacy, be quick."[74]

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[69] Vance Letter Book, II, 7-9; George Little to E. J. Hale, September 21, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, III; *The Daily Progress*, September 11, 18, 1863.
[70] *Weekly Standard*, May 18, June 29, 1864.
[71] *Wilmington Journal*, September 17, 1863.
[72] *The Daily Progress*, September 11, 1863.
[73] *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXIX, Pt. II, p. 710.
[74] *Ibid.*, Series I, Vol. LI, Pt. II, pp. 763, 764.

On the afternoon of September 11, Raleigh was visited by a large number of "infuriated soldiers from an Alabama brigade," who spread terror in their path by threatening murder and conflagration, and even indicated an intention of assaulting the governor if he interfered with them. Once more the weary governor mounted his horse and "rode with all speed" to the depot, where he prevailed upon an officer to march a detachment of calmer men into town to restrain their comrades before they had done any damage. He then turned upon President Davis. "This thing is becoming intolerable," he declared. "For sixty hours I have traveled up and down making speeches alternately to citizens and soldiers, without rest or sleep almost, engaged in the humiliating task of trying to defend the laws and peace of the State against our own bayonets. Sir, the means of stopping these outrages I leave to you. If not done, I shall feel it a duty which I owe to the dignity and self-respect of the first State in the Confederacy in point of the numbers and good conduct of her soldiers and all the natural resources of war to issue my proclamation recalling her troops from the field to the defense of their own homes."[75]

The central government issued strict orders to troops passing through Raleigh, and on September 15 Vance was able to wire the President: "The troops are now passing quietly, and no further disturbance apprehended. Quiet is restored."[76]

As for the effect of this mob violence upon the peace movement, Vance feared at first that it might begin disturbances in other parts of the State, but he consoled himself with the hope that the destruction of the *Standard* and the *State Journal* offices might counteract each other.[77] Fortunately for the peace of the State, Vance's earlier fears were not realized. Later in September he made a trip to the mountains and found "to my great gratification," he wrote Hale, "that the excitement about the stopping of Holden's paper is very small indeed. I met with hardly a man but was willing it should stay down if the

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[75] *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. LI, Pt. II, pp. 764, 765. While this demonstration was occurring Holden was hiding in the country, safe from the soldier mobs. *The Daily Progress*, September 11, 1863.
[76] *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. LI, Pt. II, p. 768.
[77] *Ibid.*, Series I, Vol LI, Pt. II, p. 765.

Journal was down with it. *Holden has been weakened* by the blow, or I am vastly mistaken."[78]

The resourceful editor of the Raleigh *Standard,* however, was not willing for his newspaper to "stay down," and early in October he resumed publication. Continuing to criticize the Confederate government and as insistent as ever in his demands for peace, this time he had an immediate object in view, for the Congressional elections would be held in November and would provide the first test of strength for the peace wing of the Conservative party. The Congressional candidates who represented this wing of the dominant party all opposed the "abuses" of the Confederate government and demanded an "honorable peace," but they would neither define that peace nor explain how it should be obtained. J. T. Leach, of Johnston County, in a letter addressed to the voters of the third district, promised to shape his course "in reference to the most successful and satisfactory mode of securing an honorable and speedy peace," and suggested that this could best be accomplished by offering the " 'olive branch' to our enemies," and thus attempting "to secure an honorable termination to this fearful struggle."[79]

Holden, when he resumed publication of the *Standard,* gave his support to the peace candidates by criticizing the Confederate government and by demanding peace negotiations.[80] The *Progress* also was prompt in lending its aid by denouncing unpopular acts of the central government and by its oft-repeated assertion that the State was treated unfairly.[81] On November 4 the election was held, and it was soon apparent that the peace movement had sent some Representatives to Congress. The *Register* observed that out of the ten North Carolina districts "we have five true men,"[82] but the *Standard* claimed that seven of the Representatives were peace men.[83] "What an unaccountable people!" the Richmond *Enquirer* exclaimed, when it heard that North Carolina had elected several peace candidates. "They fight to defend their homes, and they send a man

[78] Vance to Hale, September 20, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, III.
[79] *Weekly Standard,* September 9, 1863.
[80] *Ibid.,* October 4, 1863.
[81] *The Daily Progress,* September 23, 1863.
[82] *The Weekly Register,* November 27, 1863.
[83] *Weekly Standard,* February 3, 1864.

to Congress because he says they have defended them 'long enough.' "[84]

Shortly after the Congressional elections, the state legislature met in extra session, and the peace men were thus given another opportunity to test their strength. Although Vance had not yet decided to make an open break with Holden and other supporters of the peace movement, he sought to decrease their strength by advising the legislature that negotiations with the North would be futile and dangerous and that an honorable peace could be obtained only on the battlefield.[85] Three days after this message was delivered, however, legislative leaders of the peace movement introduced resolutions in the house of commons urging President Davis to open peace negotiations with the North.[86] But after listening to a long speech by William A. Graham, members of the house voted to lay the resolutions on the table, where they quietly expired.[87] Despite this defeat of the peace men, Vance was worried about Holden's influence with the legislature. "Things are gloomy here in the extreme," he wrote Hale. "The Legislature will adjourn on Monday without any further demonstration from the peace men I think & thanks to the influence of Mr. Graham. But the Holdenites are making every effort to raise a row again. God help us. I fear we are on the eve of another revolution & civil war in the State."[88]

In the meantime the *Standard* and the *Progress* grew bolder. "The only power that can close the war," declared Holden, "is the power that made it, that of the sovereign States; and the States can speak authoritatively only in Convention."[89] The editor of the *Progress,* though denying that he wanted North Carolina to desert her confederates, advised that the authority to negotiate peace be taken out of the hands of the general government and confided to the separate states. "If Davis and Lincoln, . . . cannot stop the inhuman butchery," Editor Pennington wrote, "let the sovereign States, that existed before

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[84] Quoted by *ibid.*, November 18, 1863.
[85] *Executive and Legislative Documents,* Sess. of 1863-1864, Doc. No. 1, pp. 7-9.
[86] *N. C. House Journal,* Adjourned Sess., 1863, pp. 17-19.
[87] W. A. Huske to E. J. Hale, December 1, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, III.
[88] Vance to Hale, December 10, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, III.
[89] *Weekly Standard,* December 30, 1863.

Confederacies or Confederations were, try their hands. Why endure a perpetual hell when in our power to avoid it?"[90]

The demands for a state convention, together with the sullen undercurrent in the state legislature, at length convinced Vance that the Confederate government should show the people of the State that it was trying to obtain peace by negotiations with the enemy. On December 30 he wrote Davis a short letter and informed him that "after a careful consideration of all the sources of discontent in North Carolina, I have concluded that it will be perhaps impossible to remove it except by making some efforts at negotiation with the enemy." He believed that if the United States rejected "fair terms," it would tend "greatly to strengthen and intensify the war feeling and will rally all classes to a more cordial support of the Government." If negotiations were begun, moreover, "we would keep conspicuously before the world a declaimer [*sic*] of our responsibility for the great slaughter of our race and convince the humblest of our citizens, who sometimes forget the actual situation, that the Government is tender of their lives and happiness and would not prolong their sufferings unnecessarily one moment."[91]

President Davis promptly replied that negotiations with the enemy were impossible, for Lincoln, only a few months before, had refused a conference with Confederate commissioners. Even if it were practicable to obtain a conference with the northern President, "that despot" would listen to no terms except abject surrender and the emancipation of the slaves. Davis was certain, therefore, that attempts to negotiate with the enemy would not allay the discontent to which Vance alluded; but he did know a way of defeating the objects of the disaffected, and that was by firm, vigorous action on the governor's part. "With your influence and position," Davis declared, "the promoters of the unfounded discontent in your State would be put down without the use of physical force, if you would abandon a policy of conciliation and set them at defiance. In this course, frankly and firmly pursued, you would rally around you all that

[90] *The Daily Progress*, November 17, 1863.
[91] *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. LI, Pt. II, p. 807.

is best and noblest in your State, and your triumph would be bloodless."[92]

President Davis was giving Vance exactly the same advice which E. J. Hale had been rendering for months, and which the *State Journal*, Raleigh *Register*, Charlotte *Bulletin*, and other newspapers had been attempting vainly to press upon the governor's attention. Vance hesitated, however, to separate himself from so powerful a politician and one who had such an uncanny ability to interpret and lead public sentiment. So great was the governor's reluctance to make an open break with the editor of the *Standard* and so obvious was his indecision, that the *Register* believed Vance was "in Holden's toils, and no matter how anxious to escape from them, has not the backbone to make the effort. Gov. Vance is a *politician* literally, and metaphorically in the 'Buncombe' sense, and there is no use in disguising the fact, . . ."[93]

During the closing days of December, however, Vance received information which stiffened his "backbone" and hastened him to the conclusion that a political rupture with Holden should be effected immediately. The editor of the *Standard* and his associates, Vance learned, had decided that his reëlection in 1864 would be opposed if he refused to support the calling of a convention. "The convention question is to be my test," the governor wrote Hale, "and I am to be beaten if I oppose it."[94] A few days later Vance received more information about Holden's plans, and he promptly communicated it to William A. Graham. He learned that Holden had prepared, and had sent to Johnston County for passage at a public meeting, a set of resolutions calling for the election of a convention; and, moreover, that a peace candidate would oppose him unless he agreed to the plan. "I can not of course favor such a thing for any existing cause," he wrote Graham. "I will see the Conservative party blown into a thousand atoms and Holden and his understrappers in hell (if you will pardon the violence of the ex-

[92] *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. LI, Pt. II, pp. 808-810.
[93] *The Weekly Register*, November 20, 1863.
[94] Vance to Hale, December 30, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, III. The leaders of the peace movement never stated clearly what they expected the proposed convention to accomplish, but Vance had reasons to believe that the secession of North Carolina from the Confederacy and a separate peace with the North was in view. See John A. Gilmer to Vance, January 5, 1864. Z. B. Vance Papers, III.

pression) before I will consent to a course which I think would bring dishonor and ruin upon both state & Confederacy!"[95]

This letter to Graham gives some intimation of the course Vance intended to pursue, but he reserved for President D. L. Swain, of the University of North Carolina, a full statement of his plans. As a youth at the University, Vance had had close relations with the president, and he had never forgotten Swain's kind and fatherly attention. To him, therefore, he wrote a long and intimate letter, which is perhaps one of the most revealing documents Vance ever composed.

The final plunge, which I have been dreading and avoiding, that is to separate me from a large number of my political friends, is about to be made. It is now a fixed policy of Mr. Holden and others to call a convention in May to take N. C. back to the United States, and the agitation has already begun. Resolutions, advocating this course, were prepared a few days ago in the Standard office and sent to Johnson [*sic*] County to be passed at a public meeting next week: and a series of meetings are to be held all over the State.

For any cause now existing or likely to exist, I can never consent to this course. Never. But should it be inevitable and I be unable to prevent it—as I have no right to suppose I could—believing that it would be ruin alike to State and Confederacy, producing war and devastation at home, and that it would steep the name of North Carolina in infamy and make her memory a reproach among the nations, it is my determination to quietly retire to the army and find a death which will enable my children to say that their father was not consenting to their degradation. This sounds no doubt, a little wild and bombastic, not to say foolish, but it is for your eye only. I feel sir in many respects as a son towards you, and when the many acts of kindness I received at your hands is [*sic*] remembered, and the parental interest you have always manifested for my welfare, the feeling is not unnatural. I therefore approach you frankly in this matter.

I will not present the argument, against the proposed proceeding. There is something to be said on both sides. We are sadly pushed to the wall by the enemy on every side it is true. That can be answered by military men and a reference to history; many people have been worse off, infinitely, and yet triumphed. Our finances and other material resources are not worse off than were those of our fathers in 1780-81, though repudiation is inevitable. Almost every argument can be answered, against the chances of our success, but one. That is, the cries of women and little children for bread! Of all things, that is hardest for a man of human sentiments to meet, especially

[95] Vance to Graham, January 1, 1864. William A. Graham Papers, 1860-1864.

when the sufferers rejoin to your appeals to their patriotism, 'You Governor have plenty; your children have never felt want.' Still, no great political or moral blessing ever has been or can be attained without suffering. Such is our moral constitution, that liberty and independence can only be gathered of blood and misery [,] sustained and fostered by devoted patriotism and heroic manhood. This requires a deep hold on the popular heart, *and our people will not pay this price* I am satisfied for their national independence. I am convinced of it. But Sir, in tracing the sad story of the backing down, the self imposed degradation of a great people, the historian shall not say it was due to the weakness of their Governor and that Saul was consenting unto their death. Neither do I desire for the sake of a sentiment, to involve others in a ruin which they might avoid by following more ignoble councils. As God liveth, there is nothing I would not do or dare, for the people who, so far beyond my merits, have honored me. But in resisting this attempt to lead them back, humbled and degraded, to the army of their enemies who have slaughtered their sons, outraged their daughters, and wasted their fields with fire; and lay them bound at the feet of a master who promises them *only life,* provided they will swear to justify and uphold his own perjury and surrender to the hangman those whom they themselves placed in the position which constitutes their crime, in resisting this I say, I feel that I am serving them truly, worthily.

In approaching this, the crisis of North Carolina's fate—certainly of my own career—I could think of no one to whom I could more appropriately go for advice than yourself, for the reasons before stated. If you can say anything to throw light on my path, or enable me to avoid the rocks before me I shall be thankful. My great anxiety now, as I can scarcely hope to avoid the contemplated action of the state [secession from the Confederacy], is to avoid civil war and to preserve life and property as far as may be possible. With due consideration on the part of public men, which I fear is not to be looked for, this might be avoided. It shall be my aim under God, at all events.

All the circumstances considered, do you think I ought again to be a candidate? It is a long time until the election it is true, but the issue will be upon the country by Spring. My inclination is, to take the stump early and to spend all my time and strength in trying to warn and harmonize the people. If I go down before the current I shall

> "—Perish if it must be so,
> At bay, destroying many a foe."[96]

[96] Vance to D. L. Swain, January 2, 1864. Z. B. Vance Papers, III.

The decision, which this letter foreshadowed, was quickly made. The peace movement, ominously threatening North Carolina's secession from the Confederacy, was to be opposed with all Vance's power. William W. Holden was to be thrust from party councils and condemned as an instigator of civil war. And Vance's campaign for reëlection in 1864 was to be fought on the issue of continuing the war until Southern independence had been achieved.

[*To be concluded*]

CONTEMPORARY OPINION OF HUGH WILLIAMSON

By Delbert Harold Gilpatrick

It is not often that Congressional biography is punctuated with marks of extensive academic training, with signs of remarkable literary and scientific productivity, or with evidences of varied professional vocations. This, however, is the case with Doctor Hugh Williamson, the first North Carolina representative to take his seat in Congress after the State's somewhat belated ratification of the Constitution.[1] Membership in a legislative or deliberative body was no novelty to this versatile doctor. Before he entered Congress on March 19, 1790, he had already served two years in the North Carolina legislature and also had been four times elected to the old Congress under the Confederation.[2] He had been North Carolina's sole delegate to the Annapolis convention of 1786 albeit he did not arrive before its adjournment.[3] At the Federal Convention in Philadelphia in 1787 he had been North Carolina's outstanding representative and in 1789 he had been a member of the Fayetteville convention at which North Carolina finally ratified the Constitution. He was to serve two terms in the new Congress under the Constitution, retiring from political life in 1793.

These eleven years of political service account for only a small part of Williamson's long life (1735-1819). For only about one-fifth of his life was he identified with North Carolina.[4] Before he settled in Edenton during the early part of the Revolution he had lived at Philadelphia. After he left North Carolina he resided in New York until his death in 1819. Some years he had spent in study and travel in Europe and he also had made a trip to the West Indies.

In the matter of education, as well as in literary output and in membership in learned societies, the record of Williamson was impressive. He was a member of the first class of the newly

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1 *Annals of Congress*, 1 Congress, p. 1464; *State Gazette of North Carolina* (Edenton), April 10, 1790.
2 Burnett, Edmund C., *Letters of the Members of the Continental Congress*, VI, xlix; VII, lxxiii; VIII, xciv.
3 *State Records of North Carolina*, XVIII, 655, 772-773.
4 He seems to have taken up his residence in Edenton in 1777. He left North Carolina not long after his retirement from Congress in 1793.

established Academy and Charitable School in Philadelphia, the "favourite child" of Benjamin Franklin's youth, and afterwards part of the University of Pennsylvania. From this institution he graduated in 1757.[5] He pursued medical studies in Edinburgh, in London, and finally at the University of Utrecht, from which he received his M.D. degree. A work of his, published in 1811, entitled "Observations on the Climate in Different Parts of America," won for him an honorary degree from the historic University of Leyden.[6] His writings cover a bewilderingly broad field. In the field of science they cover such varied subjects as climate, comets, serpents, lightning rods, pestilential fevers, malignant pleurisy, and electric eels.[7] In the political field they include "The Plea of the Colonies" addressed to Lord Mansfield in 1775, essays on the evils of paper money, and many articles in favor of the Federal Constitution. Being "among the first of our citizens who entertained correct views on the practicability of the union of the waters of the Hudson and Lake Erie,"[8] he wrote on navigation. In 1789, while he was busily writing in defense of the Constitution, he found time also to pen an article "On the Study of Dead Languages."[9]

His membership in learned societies included the famous American Philosophical Society, which he joined on January 19, 1768. In the next year he was chosen on the society's committee to observe the transit of Venus. On this committee he was in distinguished company, for the other members were David Rittenhouse, the famous scientist; William Smith, provost of the Philadelphia Academy; John Ewing, later provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and Charles Thompson, later secretary of the Continental Congress.[10] As one of the founders he "penned the first summons for the formation of the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York."[11] He received as recognition for his study on climate membership in the Holland Society of Science as well as in the Society of Arts and Sciences of Utrecht.[12] He was also a member of the New York Histori-

[5] Hosack, David, *Biographical Memoirs of Hugh Williamson;* Van Doren, Carl, *Benjamin Franklin,* pp. 189-194, 731.
[6] *Dictionary of American Biography,* XX, 300, article by J. G. de R. Hamilton.
[7] Francis, John W., *Old New York or Reminiscences of the Past Sixty Years,* pp. 97-98.
[8] *Ibid.,* p. 98.
[9] *Massachusetts Magazine,* Dec. 1789. Listed in Richardson, Lyon N., *A History of American Magazines,* 1741-1789. p. 360, note.
[10] Francis, *Old New York,* p. 97.
[11] *Ibid.,* p. 98.
[12] *Dictionary of American Biography,* XX, 300.

cal Society[13] and his discourse before that body in 1810 is printed in its "Collections."[14] An admirer of Williamson in his later years has recorded that some of the most gratifying hours of his youth "were passed with this venerable man; it was instructive to enjoy the conversation of one who had enriched the pages of the Royal Society; who had experimented with John Hunter, and Franklin, and Inghenhouze in London, and had enjoyed the soirées of Sir John Pringle."[15]

Few men in their lifetime have had as many different occupations as Williamson. He appears in the rôles of Presbyterian minister, professor of mathematics, physician, writer on scientific, literary, and historical subjects, legislator and constitution-maker, merchant, active patron of education, and advocate of internal improvements. About him in almost all of these capacities there are to be found comments, friendly or unfriendly, by contemporaries.

Originally intended for the church, he was licensed to preach by the presbytery of Philadelphia, but he never had charge of a congregation, as his health was delicate and "he had not the strength for the duties of the pulpit."[16] Doctor James Thacher, physician and historian of Massachusetts, once heard him preach a sermon at Plymouth and stated that "his oratory was grotesque." Rufus King said later that Williamson's "elocution provoked laughter in Congress."[17]

After returning from abroad in the 1760's he began to practice medicine in Philadelphia, but delicate health forced him to abandon it and he then devoted himself to scientific studies and writing. It is noteworthy that our chief biographical knowledge of Williamson comes from two fellow physicians some years his junior. These were David Hosack (1769-1835) and John Wakefield Francis (1789-1861). The year 1789, when Williamson was bestirring himself to secure North Carolina's ratification of the Constitution, was the year in which Hosack graduated

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[13] *Star* (Raleigh), Mar. 16, 1809; Francis, *Old New York*, p. 102.
[14] *New York Historical Society Collections*, 1814, II, 23-36, "A Discourse on the Benefits of Civil History."
[15] Francis, *Old New York*, p. 101. Hunter was a famous English anatomist and surgeon. Inghenhouze was a noted English physician and physicist. Sir John Pringle, physician and writer, was noted for his reforms in military medicine.
[16] Griswold, R. W., *The Republican Court*, p. 71. It has been hinted that Williamson abandoned the ministry because of disgust with theological controversies.
[17] Francis, *Old New York*, p. 102.

from Princeton and the year in which Francis was born. These two eminent medical authorities accord to Williamson the highest praise as physician, scientist, and writer.[18] As a military surgeon in North Carolina he is commended for his use of inoculation and for his improvements in camp sanitation.[19]

In his early days at Edenton he combined the medical profession with "mercantile interests," for he and a younger brother carried on an extensive trade with the West Indies. Throughout his political career he was always the spokesman for commercial interests. He was first elected to Congress on May 13, 1782, and took his seat on July 19, 1782.[20] Williamson at least attained one distinction in this body, that of regular attendance,[21] and that at a time when members were so casual in their attendance that often at crucial periods not a quorum of states was represented. His conscientious performance of duty is all the more remarkable in view of North Carolina's dilatoriness in paying her delegates.[22]

When Williamson had been in Congress little more than a month he made a speech relative to the proper method of receiving a foreign minister. This was termed a "florid harangue."[23] Jefferson, while inclined to be impatient with him on their differences regarding the methods of ratifying the Treaty of Paris, 1783,[24] nevertheless considered him "a very useful member, of an acute mind, attending to business, and a high degree of erudition."[25] In view of subsequent political cleavages it is interesting to note that Williamson wrote to Jefferson on December 11, 1784, and expressed a hope that Jefferson might be sent as minister to France but stating at the same time that John Adams had "Prejudices too strong" to qualify as minister to England.[26] Some years later Jefferson was to praise Williamson's work on climate as "an ingenious,

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[18] Hosack's work is the frequently cited *Biographical Memoirs of Hugh Williamson* (New York, 1821) and Francis's sketch appears in *Old New York or Reminiscences of the Past Sixty Years, Being an Enlarged and Revised Edition of the Anniversary Discourse Delivered before the New York Historical Society, Nov. 17, 1857* (New York, 1858), pp. 97-102.

[19] Francis, *Old New York*, p. 98; Hosack, *Biographical Memoirs, passim.*

[20] Burnett, *Letters*, VI, xlix.

[21] *Ibid.*, VII, lxxiii.

[22] *Ibid.*, VI, 343, Benjamin Hawkins and Williamson to Governor Alexander Martin, Oct. 19, 1783.

[23] *Ibid.*, VI, 461.

[24] *Ibid.*, VII, 447, Jefferson to Madison, Feb. 20, 1784.

[25] *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 299; Hosack, *op. cit.*

[26] Burnett, *Letters*, VII, 623-624.

sound, and satisfactory piece of philosophy."[27] William Samuel Johnson, a Connecticut delegate, praised him for his "ability and assiduity . . . in the Conduct of public Business."[28] A New York member, Samuel Alleyne Otis, was, however, less adulatory in his appraisal in 1788, for he stated "There is a Doctor Williamson arrived who seems to have got with him from North Carolina a quantum of self consequence" and he added that "our pompous brother Williamson" had no doubts but what North Carolina would speedily join the Federal Union under the Constitution.[29] In the same year the French *chargé d'affaires*, Otto, in describing the members (*Liste Des Membres et Officiers du Congrès, 1788*) for the French Foreign Minister, Count de Montmorin, gave this characterization:

> Hugh Williamson, Médecin et ci-devant Professeur d'astronomie. Bizarre a l'excès, aimant à pérorer, mais parlant avec spirit. Il est difficile de bien connoitre son caractère; il est meme possible qu' il n'en ait pas; mais son activité lui a donné depuis quelque temps beaucoup d'influence au Congrès.[30]

At the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 Williamson took the most active part of any of the North Carolina delegates.[31] A Georgia delegate, William Pierce, described him as "a Gentleman of education and talents" and as a member who paid close attention to and took an active part in the proceedings. He confirmed the estimates of others that he was "no Orator" and that there was "a strong trait of the Gentleman" about him.[32] A writer who later delighted in portraying the most distinguished men of this time described Williamson at Philadelphia as "a very worthy and excellent man, of much observation and extensive attainments, and an undoubted patriot."[33] Williamson was not a member of the Hillsboro convention of 1788 but he was a member of the Fayetteville convention the next year. James Iredell expressed himself as much pleased that Williamson was chosen to this body and explained why it was better

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27 Allibone. S. A., *Dictionary of Authors*, III, 2753; Francis, *Old New York*, p. 98.
28 Burnett, *Letters*, VIII, 567, Johnson to Williamson, Mar. 31, 1787.
29 *Ibid.*, p. 736, Otis to George Thacher, Mar. (May), 18, 1788.
30 Farrand, Max, *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, III, appendix. clix, 237-238.
31 Trenholme, Louise Irby, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution in North Carolina*, pp. 79-94.
32 Farrand, *Records*, III, 95. These sketches were first published in the *Savannah Georgian* in 1828.
33 Griswold, *Republican Court*, p. 72.

for him to "stand" for Tyrrell County rather than for the borough of Edenton.[34]

During the transition period before the setting up of the government under the Constitution, Williamson was constant in his attendance upon the old Congress, despite North Carolina's somewhat anomalous position. He was much worried at this time about his franking privileges.[35] About this time he was made the State's agent for settling North Carolina's claims with the Union.[36] While North Carolina was technically out of the Union, his duties were little short of ambassadorial. He exerted himself to postpone the "alien duty" on North Carolina shipping and for this drew praise from the Edenton newspaper which commended the efforts of "our worthy citizen, Hugh Williamson."[37]

It was also during this period of transition that Williamson married Miss Maria Apthorp, daughter of a wealthy New York merchant.[38] This wedding was described as one of "a large number of weddings in the more fashionable circles" that added to the "gayeties of New York society" when "not less than a dozen members of Congress were . . . united to as many fascinating young women of the city."[39] A somewhat more realistic account of this union came from John Dawson, Virginia Congressman, who wrote: "Williamson from North Carolina was married a few days since to a Miss Aptho[r]p, a beautiful girl, about twenty-two. She appears much pleased with her bargain – may she never repent."[40] Repentance was hinted upon the score of the disparity of ages, for Williamson was then over fifty. A subsequent comment from William Maclay, Senator from Pennsylvania in the first Congress, is perhaps pertinent:

> Having some leisure this morning [July 17, 1790], I called on Dr. Williamson. . . . He got into a long tale of his settling his children in Philadelphia and taking a more Northern position for his family than

[34] James Iredell to Williamson, Jan. 22, 1789, and an undated letter replying to Williamson's of Aug. 12, 1789, Johnson Papers, archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh.
[35] Burnett, *Letters*, VIII, 801, 824-26, 828, 831, Williamson to Iredell Sept. 22, 1788; to Samuel Johnston, March 2, 9, 23; April 27, 1789.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 815, Williamson to Johnston, Jan. 19, 1789.
[37] *State Gazette of North Carolina*, Oct. 1, 1789.
[38] *Ibid.*, Jan. 15, 1789.
[39] Griswold, *Republican Court*, p. 102.
[40] Burnett, *Letters*, VIII, 567, Dawson to Madison, Jan. [29?], 1789.

North Carolina, etc. By the way, I would only remark he has one child only born, but he has begotten another, as he says. But no gray-headed man ever was fuller of future arrangements for a numerous progeny.[41]

Mrs. Williamson's death before the end of 1790 made these "future arrangements" somewhat premature.[42]

In the first Congress under the Constitution Williamson displayed the same diligence that he had shown in the old Congress. He worked hard to prevent the assumption of the state debts by the central government and failing in this he endeavored, in his dual capacity of state agent and Congressman, to drive a profitable bargain for North Carolina, an aim that fell far short of realization.[43] At first his efforts won him approbation in the State and Governor Alexander Martin wrote him that "Our Citizens appear much satisfied with the exertions you have made in the House of Representatives to negative the proposition of the assumption of the State Debts by Congress. . . . You have done justice to this State in the firm opposition you have made."[44] And a month later the governor was again reporting that "our citizens in General" were much pleased with his opposition to "so iniquitous" a measure.[45]

The plaudits of the "citizens in General" did not long continue, for early in 1791 Williamson was complaining of base ingratitude toward him on the part of North Carolina.[46] The Assembly of 1790 had reached the climax in antifederalism and when Williamson appeared at some of its sessions in Fayetteville he was greeted as anything but a popular hero. An account of his reception is contained in a letter of the time, "The members of your House of Representatives were treated with the most mortifying marks of displeasure at our Assembly. . . . Doctor Williamson could not receive a whif of incense for his excellent opposition to the funding law. they looked as angrily at him as if he had been its advocate."[47]

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41 *The Journal of William Maclay* (New York, 1927 ed.), p. 322.
42 *State Gazette of North Carolina*, Nov. 5, 1790.
43 *Annals of Congress*, 1 Congress, pp. 1479-80, 1487, 1488-89, 1490-93; *State Gazette of North Carolina*, April 24, May 1, 15, 1790; Governor's Letter Book, X, 26-32, 53-56, 91-97, 127-129, 171-172, Williamson to Martin, Mar. 6, 20, April 24, May 13, June 12, Aug. 9, 12, Dec. 24, 1790. Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh.
44 *Ibid.*, Martin to Williamson, May 25, 1790.
45 *Ibid.*, Martin to Williamson, June 12, 1790.
46 *Ibid.*, pp. 174-175, 182-185, 198-199, 226-228, Williamson to Martin, Jan. 16, 29, Feb. 7, Mar. 4, 1791.
47 Alfred Moore to Samuel Johnston, Feb. 23, 1791, Hayes Collection, archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh.

The Assembly of 1790 had devoted much of its time to a vain attempt to voice official condemnation of the assumption law[48] and Archibald Maclaine, constant and caustic critic of contemporary North Carolina politics, had a suspicion that Williamson was conniving to bring this about and he asked why the "all-knowing Doctor Williamson" was not on his way to attend Congress, of which he had "the undeserved honor to be a member," rather than "torturing his ingenuity how to evade the laws of that body." Maclaine was of the opinion that the suspected doctor "would have made a good pettyfogging attorney" but he was equally positive that "nature never intended him to be a legislator."[49] Williamson, in turn, felt that the Assembly of 1790 manifested its ingratitude to him by passing a law which made it impossible for him to serve as the State's representative in financial matters and Congressman at the same time. Furthermore, this Assembly had changed the boundaries of his election district in a manner not pleasing to him.[50] He was reëlected to Congress in 1791,[51] however, and served out his second term. In 1793 he was not a candidate for reëlection and he now returned to scholarly pursuits.

Two references to Williamson in the proceedings of the North Carolina legislature give evidence of his new preoccupations. The State at that time was manifesting a good deal of interest in the improvement of internal navigation. A committee appointed for that purpose in making its report expressed its indebtedness to "the Honorable Hugh Williamson" for information about similar improvements in Pennsylvania and other Northern states.[52] In New York he was later the author of several papers "on the canal policy of the State" and it was even asserted that his "material interests, especially in the advocacy of the canal policy," helped to gain for him an exalted social position with the Clintons and others.[53] The assembly of 1793 also gave him free access to the papers in the office of the Secretary of State,[54] to be used in preparation for his proposed

[48] *State Records of North Carolina*, XXI, 867, 1055-1058.
[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 574-575; McRee, Griffith J., *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, II, 301-302, Maclaine to Iredell, Nov. 18, 1790.
[50] Governor's Letter Book, X, 174-175, Williamson to Martin, Jan. 16, 1791, archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh.
[51] *State Gazette of North Carolina*, Feb. 4, 1791.
[52] *House of Commons Journal*, 1793, p. 49.
[53] Francis, *Old New York*, p. 98; Duyckinck, A. E. and G. L., *Cyclopedia of American Literature*, I, 190.
[54] *House of Commons Journal*, 1793, p. 38.

History of North Carolina. William Barry Grove, Federalist Congressman from the Fayetteville District, in 1795 subscribed for three copies of the projected work but he was not very sanguine as to its objectivity because he feared lest the author's prejudices regarding that period of the State's history in which he "had acted *so conspicuous a part*" would be so great that the book would "not be much prized," although the first part might be correct owing to the writer's "great industry in procuring materials." Grove also noted that some people believed that Williamson had supplied Jedidiah Morse with the "most objectionable parts of his acct." of North Carolina in that gentleman's *American Universal Geography.* Grove added "if I thought so I would despise him."[55] Williamson's history appeared in two volumes in 1812 and the selling price was seven dollars.[56] As a historian Williamson did not evoke that praise that marked his efforts along other lines. Even the admiring Doctor Francis admitted that the work "had encountered the disapprobation of many" and that it was "deemed defective and erroneous."[57] Twelve years after its appearance Jared Sparks reviewed it in this manner, "We have seldom attempted to read, in the shape of history, so meagre and so unsatisfactory a performance. It contains but few facts, and these, one would suppose, the author took pains to select from the most unimportant of such as had fallen in his way."[58] A professor of the University of North Carolina reported in 1860 that it had never been found "satisfactory to the historical student, nor adequate to the wants of the people of the State."[59]

As a patron of education Williamson also deserves recognition. His preliminary training had been received at an academy conducted by one of those numerous erudite Presbyterian clergymen who did so much for education at this period. This was the Reverend Francis Alison who founded an academy at Philadelphia in 1743. This academy was subsequently moved to New-

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[55] Wagstaff, H. M., editor, "Letters of William Barry Grove," *James Sprunt Historical Publications,* IX, No. 2, 58-59.

[56] Allibone, *Dictionary,* III, 2753.

[57] Francis, *Old New York,* pp. 99-100. It is stated here that Williamson "had great reverence for the past, and was anecdotical in our revolutionary matters, and cherished with almost reverential regard the series of cocked hats which he had worn at different times during the great crisis of his country."

[58] *North American Review,* XII, 37, Jan., 1824, quoted in Allibone, *Dictionary,* III, 2753.

[59] *Ibid.,* XII, 44 (July, 1860), quoted in Allibone, *Dictionary,* III, 2753, review by Professor H. M. Hubbard.

ark, Delaware.[60] His biographies relate frequent trips on the part of Williamson, not only here but also abroad, in quest of funds for the academy at Newark and for similar institutions.[61] In 1783 he was making suggestions to Iredell for the establishment of a seminary at Edenton.[62] He was one of the original trustees of the University of North Carolina and he served in a similar capacity for the College of Physicians and Surgeons and for the University of the State of New York.[63]

Amidst all the plaudits bestowed on Williamson during his long and varied career, he was never hailed as a great democrat or as a man of the people. He could not qualify as such, for he was essentially an aristocrat. His name appeared on the exclusive "invitation list" of Mrs. John Jay in 1787-88,[64] and his marriage the next year fell in the category of a "society event."[65] At times in Congress he was impatient with some of his more democratic and more humble colleagues. He complained in 1788 of interruptions on the part of a shoemaker Congressman from New York and Thomas Person, North Carolina democrat, wrote sarcastically that some people thought that it might be wise to refrain from sending Williamson to Congress until the president of that body could give assurances that its membership should be drawn exclusively from the ranks of the well-born.[66] When the Hillsboro convention rejected the Constitution, Williamson was fearful lest such an act would establish common bonds with recalcitrant Rhode Island and that the North Carolina delegates in Congress might be expected to fraternize with the Rhode Island delegates, one of whom (Peleg Arnold) was a tavern keeper and the other (Jonathan Hazard) an "illiterate 'quondam' skipper of a small coasting vessel" and now "the very leader of Know Ye Justices."[67] Toward the inhabitants of the new West he did not show a sympathetic attitude. This region was a proper investment field for himself and others but he was dubious about admitting new states from it on an

[60] *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 181-182, article by Thomas Woody.
[61] Francis, *Old New York*, pp. 97, 101.
[62] McRee, *Iredell*, II, 68.
[63] *Dictionary of American Biography* XX, p. 300.
[64] Griswold, *Republican Court*, pp. 98-99.
[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103.
[66] Trenholme, *Ratification*, p. 193, note.
[67] Burnett, *Letters*, VIII, 785; *Iredell*, II, Williamson to Iredell, Aug. 23, 1788.

equality with the older ones on the seaboard.[68] He wrote to Iredell in 1788 that his friends knew that he did not "depend for support on public favor."[69] When he voted for the excise in Congress in 1791, contrary to the sentiments of many of his constituents, he told a friend that he had done his duty to his conscience but that he had lost his popularity and probably would never again be elected to Congress.[70]

It is possible for us to know how Williamson looked in his old age, for we have a description from the pen of one who knew him well. We are told that he was "a peculiarity in appearance, in manners, and in address" and that he was "tall and slender in person, with an erect gait." To a person encountering him upon the streets his appearance may have seemed as "grotesque" as did his oratory to his fellow Congressmen, for we are informed that "he perambulated the streets with the air of a man of consideration; his long arms and his longer cane preceding him at a commanding distance, and seemingly guided by his conspicuous nose, while his ample white locks gave tokens of years and wisdom."[71] It is also stated that his portrait by Trumbull "is true to life, and eminently suggestive."[72] A sculptured likeness of Williamson is not available. In 1791 the Italian artist, Guiseppi Ceracchi, was in Philadelphia executing busts of several of the "distinguished characters." Williamson was asked to sit for him but declined the honor in what has been described as a "puerile manner."[73]

He died in the summer of 1819 while driving in his carriage to the country to escape "from the excessive solar heat in June."[74] An accurate appraisal of him seems to be that of the admiring Doctor Francis, "Take him altogether, he was admirably fitted for the times, and conscientiously performed many deeds of excellence for the period in which he lived."[75]

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[68] Beard, C. A., *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*, pp. 50, 146-147; Trenholme, *Ratification*, pp. 92-93; Burnett, *Letters*, VII, 47 Williamson to James Duane, June 8, 1784.
[69] Burnett, *Letters*, VIII, 785; McRee, *Iredell*, II, 236.
[70] Hosack, *Memoirs*.
[71] Francis, *Old New York*, p. 99.
[72] *Ibid.*, p. 102.
[73] *Ibid.*, p. 99; Griswold, *Republican Court*, p. 354.
[74] Francis, *Old New York*, p. 100.
[75] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINIANS TO POLK

Edited by
ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON

[*Continued*]

FROM HUGH WADDELL[188]

Hillsboro,N.C. Oct^{r}.18.1845.

My dear Sir!

Will you forgive me, if I honestly acknowledge that nothing but a foolish awkwardness arising from the difference of our political opinions, has prevented me from writing you long since & hailing your elevation to the Presidency as an event as *grateful* to my personal feelings, towards you, as it was *ungrateful* to my political.

I doubt not you can appreciate these feelings or I should not now express them, with the frankness of our boyhood.–

I sent you a message last summer by M^{r}. Lucius Polk[189] which I hope he delivered.– It was in substance this: "That I deeply regretted that you should desire any thing on this Earth, that I could not aid you in obtaining *heart & hand.* Yet such was then my situation– but that he might also say that there was no man in America, if the Whig candidate was to be defeated, whom I had so soon see in his party elevated to the Presidency as yourself."–Indeed such was the strength of these personal feelings, that I was actually rebuked publickly by zealous Whig friends, for speaking of you, when canvassing Orange for a seat in the Senate, in the terms which our long continued friendship required at my hands– I beg you will understand me, as not in any manner claiming to have abated my opposition to the party whose head you are & then were, but that I would suffer myself in discussing public measures, on no occasion to speak of you personally, but with the respect & esteem I had always felt for you.–

I rejoice to find however that these feelings are reciprocated on y^{r}. part, as I judge they are by several Kind messages which you have done me the honor to send me first by my personal friend Col. John D. Hawkins,[190] & secondly by my Kinsman Judge Ogden[191] of New

[188] For a sketch of Hugh Waddell see *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI, (1939), 188n.

[189] See *ibid.* p. 191n.

[190] John D. Hawkins (Apr. 15, 1781-Dec. 5, 1858), son of Philemon and Lucy Davis Hawkins of Warren County, graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1801; entered politics and represented Franklin County in the house of commons of the state in 1834, 1836, 1838 and 1840; became a large landholder and extensively engaged in the cultivation of tobacco. He owned a large flour mill where wheat was ground for toll. He sponsored internal improvement and with Joseph Hawkins, and George W. Mordecai, he went personal security for $400,000 to aid in the building of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad. He married Jane A. Boyd (Dec. 5, 1784-Nov. 30, 1875), daughter of Alexander Boyd of Boydton, Virginia. Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, VI, 160-163.

[191] Robert Nash Ogden was valedictorian of the class of 1822 at the University of North Carolina. He not only served as a member of the legislature of Louisiana, but also served

Orleans who was with me a day or two since.– I need not say how grateful to me these kind remembrances were– coming as they did, from one whose situation might very well have excused some obliviousness, especially of one who had no particular claims on his *present* memory.–

I was gratified in common with all your old friends in Carolina, at the intelligence I rec^{d}. through Col. Hawkins, that you would visit our Alma mater, at the next Commencement. I shall be pleased once more to tread the Halls where our boyhood mimicked in miniature, the stirring scenes of mental conflict in which so much of *y^{r}. riper years* have been passed. We can recall many a face amid those scenes which we shall never see again & thus far such a visit will be sad, but there are those still living who will aid us in conjuring up a thousand incidents of the gay & ludicrous which will never cease to be remembered with pleasure.–

Pray present me most kindly to M^{rs}. Polk *if she remembers me,* & say that I have never forgotten her marked kindness in Washington when I met you there & also that I must insist she will accompany you in y^{r}. expected visit.

I would here close this desultory letter, but that an appeal has just been made to me which I cannot resist & which I think you will pardon me for mentioning. Among many others who removed to the South some years since, from N. Carolina, were my brothers & owing to a serious disaster they have been ruined, altho, they left this state with large property: The oldest Col. Haynes Waddell is now in N.C. with a large family and is absolutely without means. To justify me in alluding to his case I must state that, his brother in law. Rev^{d}. W^{m}. M. Green,[192] our old friend, seemed to think that if I would appeal to you in his behalf you would give him some appointment by which he might not only support his family, but thereby advance his two sons, who are very fine young men.– In the first place then, he is & has always been a firm & steady *Democrat* & the only one of the family– was an officer though young in the late war– is educated and capable of filling any place in which general intelligence in business is required

Now as you may suppose I should not make this application even for a brother to any other than our old friend & moreover unless the application could with propriety be numbered among the friends politically of the President.– Having said this much for him it might perhaps be expected that I should indicate *some place.* But this I cannot undertake to do; His poverty would prevent his entering into Bond in large sums & I must therefore leave the whole matter to y^{r}. discretion and kindness–

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as speaker of the house of representatives. He was judge of the superior court and United States district judge in Louisiana. Battle, *History of the University,* I, 286-288, 712, 790.

[192] For a sketch of William M. Green see *North Carolina Historical Review,* XVI (1939), 190n.

It is a source of chagrin to me, that my first attempt at renewal of our ancient intimacy should be clogged by such an unwelcome application as this must need be to him who has the Power, but my sympathy for a brother in such circumstances must be my apology.

With my Kindest & most respectful salutations to Mrs. Polk, I am My dear Sir.

Yr. ancient & faithful friend

FROM ROMULUS M. SAUNDERS[193]

Raleigh Decr. 6th. 1845.

My dear Sir

I thank you for your attention in forwarding the message– which I read with deep interest & great satisfaction. It has been received by our democratic friends, with the highest gratification & has silenced the clamours of the Whigs–The latter in the Country will wait to receive their tone from the city organs–But I feel well satisfied your sentiments in regard to Oregon & the Tariff will make a favorable impression upon our people. The renewal of the proposition to compromise on your part– the refusal by the other party & his extravagant offer, places you in the right & cannot fail to give satisfaction to every cause of the Country–The tone of the message is less belligerent than I had been led to fear– and is at the same time sufficiently firm & securely– We have A Convention on the 8th– for the renomination of our Candidate for Governor– when we shall respond to it, in the strongest terms– Fisher[194] is likely to be our candidate– and should our friends in Congress carry out your recommendations, I feel great confidence in our carrying the State– I feel so much pleased with the message that I am more than ever proud of the humble part I took in your election – and should our mother state be brought back within the democratic ranks, I am frank to say, this document will have contributed largely to the result – God grant that it may be so–

I beg to tender my congratulations on your present position & the bright prospects before you – I repeat that the sentiments of the message is exactly the thing for our people–

With sincere respect

& esteem – yr.friend

His Excely

Jas J.Polk

[193] Romulus M. Saunders continued to take an active part in politics while he waited for the United States Senate to confirm his appointment as minister to Spain.

[194] Charles Fisher declined the nomination for governor of North Carolina. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, 1774-1927, p. 968.

FROM HUGH WADDELL[195]

Hillsboro Decr. 10.1845.

My dear Sir

I cannot resist the opportunity presented by the first mail of thanking you for the very great pleasure which I have received from the perusal of y^r. *first* Message as President of the United States! ! And if any thing could have added to this pleasure, it is found in the manner in which I received it, *from y^r. own hands.*

I have not now the time being much & necessarily engaged, to advert to the parts of it which please me most, but will merely remark that its decided ability its lofty spirit, & its liberal tone upon all the great questions of interest to the Country, must & will command for its author, the undivided respect of all parties.– It may be truly added that this is no small compliment, if reference be had, to the many difficult complicated & perilous questions on which you were obliged to treat.

I have regarded the Tariff & the Oregon question as of the greatest interest as well as difficulty, but I was indeed gratified to see how they are discussed in the Message, in which it is difficult to determine whether the reasoning on the first or the manliness on the last topic is most to be commended.– But I must forbear for the present.–

I received several messages from you through my friend Col Hawkins of N°. C^a. & Judge Ogden of La: which reminded me forcibly of the sunny days of old Chapel Hill.– I was so moved by them that I wrote you a long letter in October, post marked "Greensboro" I must suppose has never reached you, as it was in part on a subject of some feeling to me & I was convinced you would not have slighted its requests. Although we differ on Political subjects I have never felt any diminution of the sincere esteem & respect with which you inspired me when we were boys & unknown to Fame & I assure you, even among your Political friends you have not one who more sincerely congratulates you on the elevation you so handsomely & *without solicitation* received at the hands of the American People than does y^r. ancient & constant

friend & classmate

N.B. – Be so Kind as to present me most respectfully to M^rs. Polk to whom I was so much indebted for her many elegant & courteous attentions to me when I was in Washington & say to her we may yet dine together in the *White House* when she will not be a *guest* as she was when we dined with Gen. Jackson.

[195] See Hugh Waddell to Polk, Oct. 18, 1845.

FROM JOHN H. WHEELER

Beattysford N C

(Private) 31. Dec '45

My esteemed Sir

I thank you most heartily for the copy of the message. It meets universal approbation from all quarters. Even those who were prepared to dislike it, cannot find any cause of complaint. The feeling too of the Democrats as to the Oregon is sound, and the Federalists, lost too much by opposing last Nov. ever to run counter to popular feeling. Although doubtless many of them will be opposed again.

As one of the movements of this section of the union, and of the day I enclose the proceedings of one of our meetings the convention meets on the 8th proxo. at Raleigh

I also enclose a letter declining on my part the honor of the nomination– I prefer the honor of being associated with your Administration whenever it suits your views to call for my services.[196]

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[196] The newspaper clippings referred in Wheeler's letter and those enclosed in Wheeler to J. K. Walker, December 25, 1845, have been preserved in the Papers of James K. Polk. Wheeler frequently urged Polk to give him a federal job. In addition to corresponding with Polk, he also wrote his secretary. The following letters are in the Polk manuscript.

"Beattysford, Catawba Co., N. C.
25th Dec '45

"My dear Sir

"At this season of joy and festivity I take occasion to thank you for the copy of the message which I received by our course of mail. It is needless to say that I read the document with unallayed satisfaction. Its bold manly and *American* tone attracts the attention and admiration of all parties in this section while his views on the Tariff strengthens the Democratic party and inspires them to fresh caution and encreased zeal. Be assured that in North Carolina it has a decided effect, & will greatly aid us in regenerating our state.

"We have a convention on the 8th proxo. Enclosed is our proceedings on the 9th inst. which was held before we received the message but you will observe in the resolutions respecting the President how accurately we had anticipatd his views. Be pleased to show it to him with my respectful regards. I had in a most public manner declined the honor of a nomination for Governor, and I am of the opinion that Fisher will be nominated, & whoever is nominated, I believe will be elected.

"The principal reason why I have declined is that a nomination is attended with much inconvenience and when accomplished the appointment is more expense than profit; and my name was before the President and from his assurances and my own personal wishes, I believed that I ought to decline the nomination. I enclose an article from the Standard at Raleigh on the subject of which we have conversed. Be so good as to show it to the President.

"I am rejoiced to see the spirit with which Texas is ushered into the Union. The strong national feeling in favour of Texas cannot be resisted. Equally so is our people affected towards Oregon, and from conversations with leading men of both parties I am satisfied that war would be preferable to yielding one minute of our meeting.

"Allow me soon to hear from you and with cordial regards to the President.

"I am very sincerely
"Yours

"JNO. H. WHEELER"

"Col– J. K. Walker

"Beattysford, No. Ca. 20th feb '46

"(Private)
"My esteemed Sir

"I have just received a letter from a leading friend in Virginia urging my presence at Washington– that Com. Shubrick takes command on the 1st proxo. of the navy yard at Washg; and that Wells of Con. goes into the Bureau of Prov.s and Clothing– that this is not pleasing to our Southern friends, nor agreeable to the Navy, for it was from a distinguished Officer of the Navy he derives his information.

"Now from our intercourse & your kindness you know that last fall I conferred freely with you on the subject that I had reason to believe that the President would at an early day call me to this Bureau, and in this belief have positively declined all promotions at home preferring to bring my services and influences (if any) to aid the administration in this Bureau. If the President has changed his views I believe that his grounds will

Wishing you every happiness and success, with my respectful remembrance to Mrs Polk I am my dear Sir

Yours sincerely

P.S. Our old friend Col Johnson "the Hero of the Thames" wrote to me that he had written to you recently.

I am glad that your idea of our Senator Mangum will be realized. he is going tolerable well, and nothing but class flatteries ever seduced him from us.

I hope that you will have no reason to complain of his colleague Mr Haywood, before you retire from your post.

FROM HUGH WADDELL[197]

Hillsboro, Decr. 31.1845.

My dear Sir

I Know not when I have been more truly gratified than on receipt of your much valued favour of the 15th inst. It recalled so many long forgotten thoughts of the days of our youth.– I can scarcily yet realize that my old Classmate should be presiding over the destinies of the greatest nation on Earth.– that at *this moment,* the destinies of Nations are held in his hand, & upon his fiat will mainly depend, the question of Peace or War.–

Amidst so many wise & patriotic men, you will not want consellors of every Kind, yet I feel assured from the tone of yr. message, that the destinies of our glorious Republic will be in safe Keeping, notwithstanding the perils by which it is environed on every side.

The real danger I fear is that the spirit of our people when roused, especally against our old enemy, will be restrained within proper bounds, with great difficulty.– To one whose position, not to speak of his qualifications, so much better enables him to judge than myself, I shall not presume to offer an opinion upon the great & all absorbing questions which agitate the Country. I cannot however suppress the expression of my gratifications, at perceiving, that if the Country is to be involved in war, there will *quod ad hoc* be but *one* party.– Hearing of the probable acquisition of California & possibly of that of other regions hereafter to be embraced within our wide extending

be good when known– I respect him & myself too much to complain. As soon as the weather permits and the state of the roads I hope to be at Washg. Cannot the matter rest until the 10th proxo. From Mr Bancrofts friendly letters to me I think that we can prevail on him to agree to acceed to my wishes. I have much to say but when we meet it can be said

"Yours sincerely

"JNO. H. WHEELER"

"Col J K Walker

[197] See Hugh Waddell to Polk, October 18, and December 10, 1845.

arms, I have wished I could be snugly cornered with you alone, that we might speculate on the probable effects of this spirit of acquisition on the transfer of our countrymen.– It is opening up a vista to my eyes, through which much of good, but I fear none of evil, may be seen in the dim distant future.– I have before me, the "suis viribus suit" of insatiable Rome.– But where am I wandering, my purpose when I set down, was first to thank you sincerely for the very kind & even fraternal letter with which you honored me, & I beg you to believe that every feeling of friendship which you have expressed for me, is ardently reciprocated. And secondly in behalf of my brother to tender to you his profound sense of y^r. Kindness, & to add that for fear you may have mistaken his wishes in my first letter, he did not expect any appointment in N.C. but had hoped that in some of the Southern cities such a place might be had as would suit him; He has mentioned the offices in the *mint* at New Orleans, or others in that city where he has relatives & friends who would join in any Bond which were not too great.– This subject is one of such *vital* interest to my brother, that nothing restrains me from pressing its consideration upon y^r. goodness except the delicacy of my situation & the dread I have of being supposed *importunate* with one whose situation is rendered painful from this very cause.– With assurances of my highest respect I am y^r. friend & classmate

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD[198]

[1845?]

Senate Chamber

Confidential Wednesday night

Der Sir/.

As often happens high excitement has been created on account of Bagby's speech– It is just the time for patriots to keep cool– Temporarily there is peril– May it be only a storm preventing the sunshine of our harmony– I inform you of the peril that you may co-operate– How absurd If Bagby *votes* with us what matter his speech–Expect our friends to stand firm to the *coup* and all will be well– Rashness amongst even our humbler statesmen now may sacrifice all– The *coup* must not be abandoned– The still opposition to the House Resolution is a hostility of scruples honestly entertained and it *cannot* yield If it could it would have been yielded long ago–

But a panic now will lose all and that is all I fear for– I write to you to keep you apprized –Bagby is solemnly pledged to vote for the *coup* & he will redeem it

Your friend

[198] Polk MS., first series.

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

[1845?]

My Dear Sir

My friend Mr McPheeters left the City this morning.

This will be handed to you by Mr Lacy of N. Jersey who is the attendant of Misses Alexander of N. Jersey– I hope they find it agreeable to you and yours to see them– & I am very sorry I cannot leave the Committee to be one of their party

Yours respy &

Thursday morning

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

My dear Sir

The Intelligencer of this morning contains a report of my speech in the Senate that is correct.[199] If you have read a report of it in the Union I will thank you to look over it in the Intelligencer. I was not asked to revise the report of Union wh. does not do me justice.[200]

Very truly your friend

W City 2 Jan'46

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

Confidential W.City 20 Jan 1846

Dear Sir

A man named Jno Danforth whom I do not personally know has had the *impudence* to address me a letter from New London Connt. begging me to keep in the hands of the Com: the nomination of Charles F Lester[201] Colr for that port for *fear its decision may create a division of the Demo party at the next Connecticut election*– if it occurs before the Election

[199] Prior to March 4, 1873, no official reports of the debates and proceedings of Congress were published. As a matter of fact verbatim reports of the speeches of members of Congress were not attempted by the newspapers until 1848 when the government began to subsidize the *Union* and the *National Intelligencer*. Speeches which members of Congress wrote out and handed to the editors of the *Congressional Globe* were usually printed in the *Appendix*. Even after the government began to pay for reporting its proceedings in the newspapers, it was not uncommon for members of Congress to complain about being misrepresented in the newspapers and the *Congressional Globe*.

[200] Haywood's speech on the Oregon question, delivered in the United States Senate, December 30, 1845, was printed in the *Congressional Globe*, 29th Congress, 1st sess., Appendix, pp. 45-46.

[201] The nomination of Charles F. Lester is not mentioned in the *United States Senate Executive Journal*.

I find you have not nominated him yet and in order that you may not be unjustly suspected of keeping back this nomination for such a purpose, I write you this note to suggest to you the propriety not to say the necessity for early attention to it The letter to me I would enclose but with *you* my *word* will suffice & the letter I am in duty bound to lay before the Com of Commerce at the meeting to morrow

faithfully your friend

FROM JOHN H. WHEELER

Beattysford, Catawba Co. N.C

(Private) 30th Jan '46

My esteemed Sir

In a conversation with you last fall as regards the *Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence,*[202] I stated that the only copy extant was in Mecklenburg County, in the hand writing of John McKnitt Alexander, who was the Secretary of the meeting in Charlotte on the 20th May 1775, and that this paper was still in the possession of Dr M. Winslow Alexander, son I believe of John McKnitt Alexander.

I went to the sale of Dr. M.W.Alexander (who is recently decd.) and was informed that Govr. Graham, whose sister Dr M.W. Alexander had married, had taken charge of this important paper, and carried it to Raleigh.

When in Raleigh on the 8th of Jan (inst.) I called on the Governor to allow me to examine this venerable document; which he did. This paper was the basis of the Document published by the Legislature of No. Carolina in 1830, through a committee the chairman of which was Thos. G. Polk Esq.

The paper has all the genuine marks of authenticity about it; but the copy submitted by the committee and by them published has a *list of names prefixed* which the original paper *does not* present.– the first name of which is Col *Thomas* Polk, the ancestor of the then Chairman. It is to be presumed that this list of names was obtained from the statements of Revd Humphrey Hunter and others, and if so, the Committee or its Chairman can say themselves why the name of your ancestor was omitted who was Capt Jack says "was among those who took the lead" in that crisis.

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202 The correspondence of Wheeler to Polk, July 15, 1844 and William H. Haywood, Jr., to Polk, August 22, 1844, pertains to their efforts to determine whether Ezekiel Polk signed the Mecklenburg resolutions. There are several documents in the Papers of James K. Polk in regard to the question that were published during the campaign of 1844.

I write this to say that I had understood that among the names your ancestor Ezekiel Polk was recorded, and therefore carefully examined the ancient record.

But while this is not the case; there is no reason either in truth or justice why the names of *those* who *are* mentioned in the certificates of those who were not actors in these scenes (but mere lookers on and boys) should be recorded in our account as stated in 1830 and the *names as recorded* by Capt James Jack who resided at this time in Charlotte, who was privy to the designs and meetings of the leading characters of the day, who *all acknowledge* was the bearer of those proceedings to the Continental Congress at *Phil*[a]. should be omitted entirely.

I have seen an old copy printed of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence and on which among the signers is the name of Ezekiel *Polk*. But the original paper which I have carefully examined has no names whatever, and therefore all the names either prefixed or affixed on but based upon the statements of contemporaries.

The Governor will (as he informed me) submit all the ancient papers to the next Legislature, and there these facts will be made public and manifest.

I have thus performed what I had intended or promised you to do, in relation to the Meck[g]. Declaration of Independence.

We have nothing political in the old state worth communicating. We find hard work to get out a candidate for the Governor's chair. Our nominee G W Caldwell[203] declines. I think your old college friend *Walter F. Leake*[204] would make a good run.

All eyes are turned on Congress on the Oregon question. Our plain people all understood your excellent message; and both parties Democrat and Whig was for the *notice*. But they are a little bothered when they see J Quincy Adams and others advocating the notice and some of our southern friends not anxious for it. The creed of "a masterly inactivity" is ridiculous to us all.

Excuse this letter & believe me very

respectfully & sincerely your

sincere friend

His Ex

Jas K Polk

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[203] Green W. Caldwell was superintendent of the mint at Charlotte from January 2, 1844, until he resigned in 1847 to accept an appointment as captain in the United States Army. The latter appointment was confirmed by the United States Senate, March 3, 1847. *United States Senate Executive Journal*, VI, 199. 207; VII 211, 238-239.

[204] For a sketch of Walter Leak see *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI (1939), 174n.

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

[Jan. 1846.]

Dear Sir

Annexed are 4 forms–[205] I like the 2nd. best – That is shortest – It supercedes the necessity of conferring with Mess' Senators at all – The only object would be to place upon record such an *avermat* as will exclude the inference from the journal as it now stands that you had a sinister design. It should be done shortly without argument & without liberal proof & without reason– The *single word* of the Prest should be assumed by him as it will be admitted by others to be a sufficient verification of a fact– His *ipse dixit* on such a point sufficient. I strongly incline to make that a reference to the letter as in no. 3. & it is certain the letter itself as in no 4 would be *tender* of *evidence* that your communication *affirms,* it is true. . To be sure it is very *conclusive* proof – But is it consistent with the dignity of a *President* to prove his explanation? It is no *contest* of yours but to bare explanation – nothing more – should you concur in this either no 1 or no 2 will be taken as a form of a letter of nomination

In such a case you might if you choose deposit the *letter* of C & S with me to be used in my discretion in the Senate or out of it to stop the mouth of any gainsayer – Should you do that it would be imprudent to let any one know I had it in my possession for any purpose –

Depend upon it I will be true & faithful to your reputation & feelings– But if you mean to consult with *any one* who has had or may have an interest in this tangled letter thing do not do it until you

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[205] The forms suggested by Haywood were filed with his letters and read as follows:

"I nominate A. B. of..... to be Consul at .... in place of J. H. T. who was appointed in the recess in the place of C. D. ..... recalled and whose nomination to the Senate was withdrawn on 15 Jan 1846.

1st James H Tates nomination was withdrawn ..... before I had any knowledge or information directly or indirectly of the resolution that was pending before the Senate in relation to it– This fact I feel it to be my duty to state in connexion with this nomination

"I have the honour &c

"J. K. P.

"or this:

"2nd After 1846.

"I think it my duty to state the fact that James H. Tate's nomination was withdrawn before I had any knowledge or information, directly or indirectly, of the Resolution that was pending before the Senate in relation to it–

"I have the honour &c

"J. K. P.

"or this:

"3rd After 1846.

James H T.' nomination was withdrawn in consequence of an application by the Senators from Miss. made to me by a written communication which was rec'd on 15 Jan 1846 but I had no knowledge at the time of my withdrawal of that nomination that any Resolution had been moved or was pending before the Senate in relation to it.

"I have the honour &c

"J. K. P.

"or this:

"4th After 1846

"James H. Tate's nomination was withdrawn solely in consequence of a written request by the Senators from Miss which accompanied this communication

"But I had no knowledge that any resolution had been moved or was pending before the Senate in relation to that nomination when it was withdrawn by me

"I have the honour &c

"J. K. P."

are upon the eve of starting off your Secy with the new nomination– If it gets out that you are counselling & deliberating upon such a subject too much consequence will be attached to it & no good will come of it

"Thine as ever"

FROM DAVID W. STONE

Raleigh No Ca Feby 11, 1846

My dear Sir

I wrote you sometime since last summer (in consequence of a letter which I then understood had lately been written you in my name desiring an appointment) saying that I did not desire any office and situaton as I then was comfortably and pleasantly I did not;[206] but since then a sad reverse has occurred in my situation & prospects and I am now very desirous of getting an office that will afford me employment and a fair compensation for my services– and hoping that I may rely somewhat on an old college acquaintance – and the recommendation of my friends the Hon: W.H.Haywood of the U S Senate to whom I beg to refer you as to my qualifications &c– as well as to Mr Dobbin[207] & any of the other members from this state – I venture to solicit some appointment in which I may engage and shall ever hold the favor in grateful remembrance if you can and will give me an appointment I know you are very much annoyed by such solicitations and I would under no ordinary circumstances intrude any imposition on you but I hope you will excuse me under the circumstances that I am induced to solicit this favor

With much Respect & esteem

Yr Very obdt. Humble Sevt

His Excellency Jas. K Polk

Prest. of the U States

Washington City D.C

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206 See Stone to Polk, September 25, 1845.

207 James C. Dobbin (Jan. 17, 1814-Aug. 4, 1857) was born in Fayetteville, North Carolina, attended the Fayetteville Academy and William Bingham's School at Hillsboro, and graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1832; studied law; was admitted to the bar in 1835; represented North Carolina in Congress from March 4, 1845, to March 3, 1847; returned to the practice of law; was elected as a member of the state house of commons in 1848, 1850, and 1852, serving as speaker in 1850; served as a delegate to the Democratic national convention in 1852; and was Secretary of the Navy in Pierce's cabinet from March 7, 1853, to March 6, 1857. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 912.

FROM WILLIAM L. MILLER

Raleigh, N C, March 12th 1846

Dear Sir

Having long wished a midshipmans berth and knowing the goodness of your heart I have taken the liberty of addressing you about it: I have the greatest desire to serve my country in some manner and thinking that I could serve it best and most effectively on the Ocean I have chosen that for my profession provided you will be so good as to give me a midshipmans warrant.

We are all coming on here finely, The democratic convention used the Whigs (poor piteable fellow by the way) up shockingly especially that Whig leader Daniel Webster, We expect to have a true democratic Legislature and possible a Governor also, but that is not so mutch [*sic.*] looked for. Mr Polk I am 19 years old and 5 feet 2 inches high. And long life and prosperity to all lovers of America

Your umble [*sic.*] servant

P.S I wish you would write soon as I wish to know whether you will gratify me or not

A true democrat by name

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

The com on Commerce in the Senate are desirous of receiving from the proper office the papers &c upon which the President nominated Mr Hedges[208] of Missouri and Conway Whettle[209] of Norfolk Va.

The President will be pleased to have them sent to the Committee Room in the course of to-day[210]

respy

W City 9 April 1846.

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208 On May 5, 1846, the United States Senate rejected the nomination of Isaac H. Hedges of December 25, 1845, for surveyor and inspector of the port of St. Louis. *United States Senate Executive Journal*, VII, 12, 72.

209 On May 5, 1845, the Senate confirmed the nomination of Conway Whettle as collector for the port of Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia. Conway had served as collector since March 19, 1841. *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 50, 71.

210 At the bottom of the letter from Haywood to Polk, April 9, 1846, is written the following:

"*Mr. Young* chief clerk of the Treasury Department will send to me by my messenger the papers referred to, in Mr. Haywood's note: Apr. 9th 1846:

"J. K. POLK"

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

Private

My dear Sir

I hoped to see you this Evening but my daughter reached here on her way home and I am compelled to go with her she having no other means of getting there & if I do not go tomorrow morning I shall miss the stage for Newbern where my family are.– Circumstances which are of no interest to you make it necessary she should go without delay & I have been up nearly all night in preparing to leave–

I have been industrious & faithful in my enquiries so far as they could be conducted without disclosing my objects– My mind is convinced (as before) that the Bill cannot pass– I wrote you a note by Mr Walker[211] concerning the purpose & of a particular Senator – There is no doubt of his opposition to all or any *bill* upon the subject –

Hoping that God may prosper you & guide your admn. I bid you adieu for a few days only I will be at my post again *Deo Volente* 17th May or before

I go to Newbern & not to Raleigh

I am your friend &c.

Midnight. 7 May 1846

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

W. City

27 May 1846

Confidential

Dear Sir

Do not permit the importunity of others to prevail upon you to renominate H. Horn until I see you.–[212] Grieved as I am that so good a man & so faithful an officer should have been rejected I regard it as my first duty to protect *you* against taking position upon it without knowing the real state of facts. I should have gone to you last night but the crowd at your rooms excluded the idea of a visit on business–

Your friend

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211 J. Knox Walker was private secretary to James K. Polk.

212 The nomination of Henry Horne as collector of customs for the district of Philadelphia was rejected by the United States Senate on May 25, 1846, by a vote of twenty-one to twenty-five. Four days later his nomination was again presented and on June 24, 1846, he was rejected by a vote of twenty-one to twenty-eight. *United States Senate Executive Journal*, VII, 13, 75, 80, 104.

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

Private

My Dear Sir

For reasons to be communicated before you are to act, some of which you must anticipate, I avail myself of the earliest moment to say that the Whig friends of Senator Barrow[213] are exceedingly anxious to have him made a Brig^r. Genl The military and political reasons for it appear to me to be very cogent and I hint the point now in order to keep you advised in the premises. I am very sincerely your

friend & obt Servt.

W. City 28 May '46

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

My Dear Sir

After my conversation with you on the subject of M^r. Stone's appointment as *Coiner* at Charlotte N. C. I wrote to Mr Stone and advised him to go immediately to Philadelphia and there to learn for himself what were the duties of the office. That in a week's time he would be able to determine whether he was suited to the Office & the office to him– & I am sure he will act accordingly.

Mr Stone is now here and I will be obliged to you if you will send to me a letter to D^r– Patterson directing him to admit Mr Stone into the mint at Phil^a. & to see that he is properly instructed in the duties of a coiner[214] If you can send me this letter at once Mr Stone can proceed this Evening on his journey & his visit.

Very truly your friend

W. City 29 June '46

FROM JOHN H. WHEELER

Beattiesford N. C. 17th Aug. '46

My esteemed Sir

As I promised as soon as our Elections were known, I would write to you the result; the result is known– the Whigs have the Legislature *but by a decreased majority.* Two years ago it was 22; it is now about 15.

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[213] Alexander Barrow (Mar. 27, 1801-Dec. 29, 1846) was born near Nashville, Tennessee, attended West Point, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in Tennessee in 1832. Soon afterward he moved to Louisiana where he became a planter and served in the state legislature. He was elected as a Whig to the United States Senate, and served from March 4, 1841, until his death. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 674.

[214] See Stone to Polk, September 9, 1846.

As to Governor's election, our candidate is defeated. This whole affair was miserably managed. Several who could have made a good run declined. The nominee of our convention declined; then we had two candidates (Leake [*sic*] and Shepard)[215] this produced a breach, never cordially healed– Then on the very eve of the election, came the news of Haywood's disaffection, which while it encouraged the enemy, as to them *affording evidence that the principles of our party* were not *tolerable to a conscientious* man, tended to dampen the exertions of our friends. His conduct every where execrated. I enclose to you a paper from your native county, which shows the light in which his conduct is viewed.[216] It also affords to you the real sentiments of the country as to your *veto on the Harbour bill*

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[215] Walter F. Leak and James Shepard were defeated for governor by their Whig opponent, William A. Graham.

[216] The following excerpt from the *Jeffersonian* (Charlotte, N. C.) was enclosed with Wheeler's letter:

"HON' WILLIAM H' HAYWOOD'.

"On Monday last, we received the painful and startling intelligence that the Hon. William H. Haywood had resigned his seat in the Senate of the United States, and that his resignation had put in jeopardy the new Tariff Bill, which has just passed the House and is now before the Senate. This information was most unexpected to men of all parties here and at the moment of writing this article, (Tuesday, 4 p.m.) we are still completely in the dark as to the reasons which governed Mr. Haywood in the course he has seen proper to adopt.

"The campaign of 1844 was fought in North Carolina, as well as in other portions of the Confederacy, with a most distinct and vivid understanding on all hands, that the Democracy were opposed to the Tariff of 1842, and pledged, should they be placed in power, to advocate its alteration or repeal. In that campaign, Mr. Haywood agreed in opinion with the Democratic party of the State on this vital question; and indeed, the very Legislature which elected him to the Senate, expressed its decided opposition to the Protective System, and a desire that a Revenue Tariff should be enacted. A majority of the people of this State, in our humble opinion, is at this moment opposed to the Tariff of 1842, and in favor of such a bill as that recently passed by the House of Representatives; and, so far as the *Democratic party* of the State is concerned, we feel confident that, without a single exception, they heartily approved the course, pursued by their Representatives in the House, to-wit: Messrs. Dobbin, McKay, Biggs, Clark, Daniel and Reid. These gentlemen have truly reflected the will of their constituents and of the Democratic party of the State; but with the light before us, we are compelled to say, with profound and unaffected sorrow, that Mr. Haywood has deserted his friends at a moment when they had a right to count upon his assistance and co-operation, and that in this matter he has proved faithless to his State, faithless to the Democratic party, faithless to the interests of the South, and to the South, and to the repose and welfare of the whole country. Never before have we penned more reluctant words; *but our duty must be discharged.* We go for *principles*, not men – take from us all things else, but leave us our principles and our country.

"The course of M. Haywood will produce regret and sorrow among the Democracy of North Carolina– but nothing more. Not one Democrat will be shaken from the path of duty. As one man, the Republicans of the good old State will continue to oppose the abominable Tariff of 1842; nor will they pause in their efforts until they shall see the Tariff abolished, and a just and equal Revenue Tariff become the established policy of the Government. *Men* may die, or betray the interests of a confiding people; but PRINCIPLES are immortal."

"From the *Jeffersonian*, Charlotte, N. C., Aug. 4:

"MR. HAYWOOD.

"This gentleman's promised 'vindication,' has yet come to hand, unless we take the labored defence of his treachery by all the Federal tariff papers in and out of this State, as such. If we believe these Federal papers in what they now say, they always regarded Mr. Haywood as the purest of all our politicians, notwithstanding, only a few months since, they villified and traduced him in terms the most bitter and vulgar. Out upon such hypocrisy!

"In his defense of Haywood in the Senate, Mr. Mangum made a remark that stamps Haywood's treachery with a deeper stain than it originally seemed to possess. He said he had the assurance (from Haywood of course) that if he (Haywood) had have been sure he could by his vote 'defeated the Tariff Bill, he would not be effectual in producing the result, he determined to resign.' Was there ever such a bold declaration of such base, damnable treason! If his vote would have defeated the Bill, he would have staid and voted; but inasmuch as his treason would be ineffectual in defeating the will of the people, and the party who sent him there– inasmuch as the Bill would pass in spite of his treason, he determined to resign: He resigned because he could not *effectually* betray

With assurances of my perfect esteem and respect

I am very sincerely

Yours

Hon Jas K Polk

President of U S

FROM JOHN H. WHEELER

Beattiesford N C 31st Aug '46

My esteemed Sir

I enclose the proceedings of a large and enthusiastic meeting of your native county, in which you will observe how your course is appreciated by the citizens of Mecklenburg.

You will also see that the people have seen Mr. Haywood's address, and solemnly "denounce him as no longer worthy of the confidence of the Republican Party." The meeting as to its members or respectability has rarely been exceeded in this State.

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his country, his party, and his principles! Surely the crimson of shame must have mantled the cheek of even Willie P. Mangum, in uttering such a sentence.

"We have not opened a Democratic paper from any part of the country, in which Haywood is not denounced as a traitor and a doomed politician; nor have we met a single Democrat who does not pour out upon him the bitterest curses, and who does not loathe him as the worst of traitors."

"From the *Jeffersonian*, Charlotte, N. C."

"THE VETO

"The country owes another heavy debt of gratitude to James K. Polk, for his veto on the River and Harbor Bill. His veto message will be found in our columns today, and we venture to say its doctrines will meet the cordial approbation of every true Republican in the country. It must indeed be cause of proud satisfaction to the Republican party that in these days of political degeneracy, when professing Democrats, in obedience to sordid local considerations, or selfish ambition, are found betraying the principles they profess to hold sacred, that we have in the Presidential Chair a man of the Republican firmness and nerve of Mr. Polk– who dares meet the crisis like a true patriot, and with that power with which the Constitution has clothed him, arrest unwise and corrupt legislation. Although many of Mr. Polks professed friends, false to their duty and principles voted for the River and Harbor Bill, and were furiously anxious for its passage, fearless of their denunciations, our partiot President stepped forth and killed this spawn of Federalism, and like the departed Sage of the Hermitage, once more saved the Constitution of his country from violation, and the public treasury from being plundered to gratify local interests. Glorious President!–[fortunate man!]

" 'Thrice happy he,
Who, blessed of God, is by his country blessed.'

"Do the Federalists yet ask 'who is James K. Polk?' He is the man of iron nerve and stern Republicanism; placed in the Presidential chair by a free people to guard their Constitutional rights and liberties. In an administration of one short year and a half, he has achieved more for the glory and happiness, peace and prosperity of his country, than any man who ever occupied the Chair of State–proving that our people are indeed worthy of their birthright of freemen and fully capable of self-government–proving that James K. Polk is a true man to his country and to the trust reposed in him by the people. For this last crow[n]ing act of devotion to Republican principles, Mr. Polk deserves a monument as high as the Heavens. The voice of a grateful people will come up to him in shouts of applause; and in the proud temple of Republican liberty, they will enshrine his name amid those of Jefferson, Madison, and a Jackson. Truly was the victory of 1844, a momentous one– a victory of the Constitution, of true Democratic principles, over monopolies, exclusive privileges, and legislative fraud of every kind. The political revolution of 1801, was not more important to the preservation of our Republican institutions."

The union is requested to copy, and therefore after reading be pleased to have the enclosed sent to Mr. Ritchie.[217] This meeting is entitled to much consideration, since it comes from a region where Mr. H. hoped to have as he had, some friends and admirers, and the first indication of public opinion in N°. C^a. since the reception of the long and laboured address of Mr. H. It speaks the sentiments of the party in the State, and will be followed by similar expressions of public opinion all over the State.

That your health may be preserved, your administration prosperous, and glorious is the earnest desire of very respectfully

and sincerely yours

Tl the President of
U S

FROM DAVID W. STONE

Raleigh No Car. Sept. 9, 1846

Dear Sir

I have been thrown utterly and truly out of all employment by the treachery direct & fraud of your supposed friends in whom I too much confided and I am a miserable & wretched man for the want of means to support my family and can get into no employment here–for I have sought & sought & sought [*sic*] it without success and I take the liberty of writing you even to beg & entreat you to give me an office appointment by which I can hope to make a reasonable compensation for the support of my wife & self & if you can & will give me an office in Washington City or elsewhere that you may have at your disposal I shall be eternaly obliged to you & will ever recollect it with the deepest & most sincere gratitude– O my Dear Sir relieve me in this case if you can & you will have the gratitude of a deeply distressed wife & of her wretched Husband who is your political & personal friend

His Excellency James K Polk
Prest of the U States
Washington City D. C.

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217 Haywood's address to the people of North Carolina, which was delivered in the United States Senate, August 10, 1846, was printed in the *Congressional Record*, 29th Cong., 1st sess., Appendix, pp. 1178-1184.

Instead of sending the clippings to the *Union* as requested by Wheeler, Polk kept them in his files. Nevertheless the *Union* was most bitter in its attack upon Haywood. The latter, however, does not seem to have regretted that he resigned rather than vote for the administration tariff measure which he could not support. See Haywood to Polk, December 18, 1848.

Please write me in reply & say whether you can & will give me an office & oblige yours I have been most of my life employed in Bank as Cashier and the institution I lastly held in this place I resigned to go to Balo to join my supposed friend, no fault was found of me in my office indeed the Directory desired to retain my services but in a foolish moment & gave way to the whim of my supposed friends now I am ruined by it unless you can & will relieve me by giving me an office

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.[218]

To the President of the

United States

During the year of your Inauguration I wrote you a letter from this place and if I preserved a copy of it at the time I cannot find it now. The letter to which I allude was the one in which I ventured to suggest the expediency of entering into a Treaty with Texas over & besides her acceptance of the terms of legislative measures as proposed by the Resolutions of Congress.

I am sorry to trouble you when I know your time is so much better occupied by higher concern than mine but if you have kept my letters the trouble of making me a copy of that one will not be great but the favour to me will not be inconsiderable and I will be obliged to you for it. Indeed I presume that the original letter cannot be esteemed of any value to you and if it should be too inconvenient to copy it for me probably you may be willing to send me the original.

It has been my object to preserve for my sons such things where they were immediately connected with my short public life & recent events have made me more solicitous to carry out my intentions toward them. They will be interesting to them when you and I have left the stage of life and gone to account before the great tribune for all "that we have done" and for that we may have "left undone" in our earthly pilgrimage.

Be pleased to offer my best respects to Mrs Polk and to Mr and Mrs Walker

I have the honour to be yours

Most respectfully

Raleigh 17 Sep 1846.

[218] Polk MSS., first series.

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.[219]

[October ? 8, 1846?]

My Dear Sir

The letter I wrote you & Copy of which I wanted was one that I sent you in the summer after the date of the one you sent me– It is the letter in which I ventured to suggest the policy of your negotiating a *Treaty* with Texas soon after the Resolutions had been accepted by Texas & in addition to the intimating for your consideration that Texas was not a part of the Union but an Independent Govern^{t}. until our Congress should have finally accepted their new constitution. If you could find it & it were convenient to send me a copy of it I should be thankful for the reasons stated in my last note to you–Believe me I feel great reluctance to trouble you with this little matter of my own when I know your time must be occupied by the great affairs of State–

It may be a more precise description of the letter I allude to to say it is one in which it was intimated that by making both a *Treaty* & legislative *compact* with Texas all parties would be satisfied and contests which I then apprehended be avoided in the American Congress–

With a respectful tender of my best respects to Mrs. P. and the ladies of your household I have the honour to be your obt

P.S. This is the period of my courts & I am constantly engaged in the interest of my profession and that will be an apology for my writing a mere note–

FROM JOHN A. HAMILTON

Chapel Hill October 16th 1846

Sir

The death of my father soon after I had finished my education, and many other accidents in which my own conduct has had no concern, have involved me in difficulties, which threaten altogether to impede my progress in any farther studies, and prevent the means which I hoped were in my power to get my bread; for through the utter want of friends under which I labour, I cannot expect preferment. But with this, sir, I should be satisfied. The reason of my writing to you upon this melancholy occasion is, Sir, what I have already mentioned my entire want of money. My reason for writing to you is that I have often heard that you were of a charitable disposition and if your fortune is so plentiful as I have heard perhaps you will not only pardon the present application, as strange as it may seem from one

[219] Polk MSS., first series.

you never saw, but may comply with my humble request of loaning me a small sum say $200. or a less sum will be very thankfully received, and perhaps before new difficulties fall upon me I may find some friend to relieve me further. I only request of you, sir, if you decline this, not to be offended at the presumption of the application, because I would avoid nothing so carefully, as offending one of your station

I am with the greatest esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant

FROM WILLIAM W. HOLDEN[220]

Raleigh, N. C. January 4, 1847.

Sir:

I learn that David W. Stone, Esq. recently appointed by you a Paymaster in the Army of the United States, has returned to this City, and has therefore failed to proceed in the discharge of his duties; and it is now considered certain here, that if he should not resign, it will be necessary to supercede him, on account of the unsettled and deranged condition of his mind.[221]

In case the office he now holds should be vacant, by resignation or otherwise, permit me to bring to your notice Gaston H. Wilder, Esq.[222] of this City (and at present a member of the House of Commons) as a suitable person to fill it. Indeed, a better selection than that of Mr. Wilder, or one which would be more acceptable to the community generally, *could not be made.*

It has not been my habit to ask for office, either for myself or friends; and I hope you will therefore pardon me for troubling you on this occasion.

With sentiments of the very highest respect, I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

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220 "W. W. Holden," as he usually signed himself (Nov. 24, 1818-Mar. 1, 1892), a political journalist and governor of North Carolina, was born in Orange County. At the age of ten he became a printer's devil on the *Hillsboro Recorder*. In 1837 he went to Raleigh, where he worked on the *Star*, the leading Whig paper. His writing attracted attention and in 1843 he was offered the *North Carolina Standard*, the leading Democratic paper, on condition that he become a Democrat. Under his direction the *Standard* became the most powerful political paper in the State. He was defeated for governor in 1858 and 1864, but in May, 1865, President Johnston made him provisional governor. His political fortunes were doomed in 1870 when the Democrats regained control of the State, for he was impeached in March, 1871, was convicted, and was forever disqualified from holding another office in the State. *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, 138-140.

221 See Haywood to Polk, January 13, 1847; and Stone to Polk, January 12, 1847.

222 Gaston Hillary Wilder was a native of Johnston County, graduated from the University of North Carolina in the class of 1838, and represented Wake County in the house of commons in 1842, 1844, 1846, and 1853 and in the senate in 1854 and 1856. Battle, *History of the University* I, 427, 440, 441, 511, 796; *A Manual of North Carolina*, 1913, p. 831.

FROM ASA BIGGS[223]

Washington, [D. C.]

Jany 5, 1847

To the President

Dear Sir

I have just received a letter from a gentleman in Raleigh N. C. upon whose statement I can rely from which I extract the following

"The appointment of David W. Stone Esq assistant Paymaster in the Army has been a matter of much surprise both with Whigs and Democrats in this vicinity. . not that Mr. Stone, as he once was, would not have been very capable of filling the place but it is a fact perfectly well known to every person in Raleigh that for the last twelve months Mr. Stone has been an insane man, his mind perfectly deranged and totally disqualified for any Kind of business. Mr. Polk's friends here were placed in an unpleasant situation Knowing it to be a bad appointment we could only say that the President could not be supposed to know personally every person he appointed to office and that in this case he must have been imposed upon, and what seems astonishing no Democrat in or about Raleigh knew anything of any letter or application going from here in his behalf . . . . On receiving orders to report himself forthwith at New Orleans he appointed James Litchfield Jr (one of the most noisy, blustering Federalist in the City) his secretary and an attempt was made to get him off by his family and friends and when the stage drove up to his House for him he refused positively to go and was forced by main strength in the stage and started. He went as far as Wilmington and last Saturday night returned home with his Secretary, He has not been out since but is said to be perfectly frantic, – It said by some he has resigned but I do not believe he has or will resign until he is displaced. Mr. Litchfield and others under whose immediate keeping he is will do all to prevent it and he himself is incapable of deciding any question."

I considered it a duty to give you this information at the earliest moment.

I have the honor to be

Very respectfully

Yr obt servt

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[223] For a sketch of Asa Biggs see *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI (1939), 445, note 168.

FROM JOHN H. WHEELER

Raleigh N C 9th Jan '47

My dear Sir

I learn that G. W. Caldwell now Superintendent of the mint at Charlotte will resign his appointment.[224]

From this appointment I was ruthlessly removed in, 1841 by Ewing & Co. I shall caused to be presented a memorial from the Dealers in Bullion that my management of the mint gave entire satisfaction. I refer your attention to the warm letters of Dr. R. M. Patterson Director of the mint at Phila. Judge R. M. Saunders, Messrs Reid, Daniel, Dobbin, Graham and others of our state in my favour now on your files.

I am prompted to solicit this mark of your kindness, by a wire to save your administration for the support of which I was removed two years ago from the important post of Public Treasurer of N. C.

The Regiment of volunteers from this state is slowly filling up. The message of Gov. Graham, the tone of the Whig papers and orators tend much to repress the ardour of our citizens. The Regiment will eventually be made out, but not very soon.

Accept, Sir, assurances of my perfect

respect & regard

To The President of US

FROM DAVID W. STONE

Raleigh N. C. Jany 10, 1847

Dear Sir

Shortly after receiving the commission of Paymaster &c which you were kind enough to give me I set out as directed by the Paymaster Genl for New Orleans on my way to Mexico and was stopped in Wilmington this State by ill health & confined to my bed for several days & being entirely unable to proceed from my physical disability I returned to my family in Raleigh to recuperate if possible and then go on– but from a letter recd to day from Genl Jonson [*sic*] he says my services are absolutely needed & that I must proceed immediately on to Mexico – Now as I am not well enough to go I cant do so now pre-emptory reverse the order – for I should have long since obeyed it but from ill health – and been in Mexico before this if public conveyances would have carried me there – but my health is not now sufficient to enable me to go and if the public service cant yield to the

[224] Green W. Caldwell resigned to accept a position as captain in the army.

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ill health of an officer or you think another should be appointed in my place under the circumstances then I beg that it may be stated that *I relinquish on account of ill health* for I do not wish to be removed under any circumstances – and let me beg of you as a favor to a prominent political friend and schoolmate to give me some clerkship at Washington city the duties of which I can perform even in my present state of health– I beg you for this my dear Sir because from misfortune & other reasons I am now wholy prostrated and have very little to depend on for the support of my family but my own exertions & labours & having been working so long in office I feel almost unfit for other business – and the business being held in all places in this state by my political opponents I have nothing to hope for or expect from them–

I write you more precisely & frankly than perhaps might under ordinary circumstances appear proper to be written to the Prest of the United States but I think I know you well enough to know that office has not put you above being wiling [*sic*] to receive frank & free communications from friends and it is therefore through a private citizen that I continue to write you (being president) as I do – but in any other but the most respectful manner but yet as a personal political friend

Yr very obdt sert

Jas J Polk Esq

Prest US

Washington City DC.

I beg you to give me some office in Washington City that I can earn a support for myself & family by or I am overwhelmed by misfortunes– I have as you know me in later days & nothing but the direct misfortune would make me so importune my friend but I am overwhelmed with misfortune & want some coup by which I can regain my health & fortune – & if you can I do hope you will aid me & receive the blessing & the thanks of an old friend & his wife who is one of the best women that ever lived– I entreat you for this favour to enable me to support my family and I do hope you will not refuse me

FROM DAVID W. STONE

Raleigh N. C. Jany 12, 1847

Dear Sir,

Being yet confined at home on account of ill health & not able to proceed to Mexico, and from my present state of health not knowing when I shall be able to go forward, and being unwilling to relinquish

all hopes of a support of my family, as I must support them in some way by my own labour – and seeing that Mr Caldwell has lately resigned the Directorship of the Branch Mint at Charlotte– I beg to ask you if you can do so; to give me that appointment as I can go there & do the duties in my present health – and have little doubt that I can discharge them entirely satisfactory to the Government – as it is a kind of business with which I am most familiar– a business that Dr. Patterson the Director at Phila told me I was particularly fitted for (when I was there last summer & he refused to recommend me as Chief coiner for the want of practical mechanical skill) if you can & will give me this appointment my Dear Sir – you will do me a favour and a kindness that never will be forgotten but will always be remembered with the deepest & most lively gratitude & you will preserve a sinking friend from ruin – & distress the overpowering & overwhelming – With the Highest hope & Regard

Your Very Obt & Humble Servt

James K Polk Esq
Prest U S, W City D.C.

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

To the President of the U. States

Sir

I have just rec'd yours marked "private" on the subject of Mr Stone's appointment as Paymaster. I have been absent attending a Court at Wilmington and only last night returned to my home. I lose no time in sending my answer:

I have no doubt you will recollect that when I was a member of the Senate you offered to appoint Stone a Pay-Master and I declined it immediately and without consulting him I did so because I did not think that he suited the office or the office him. That is my opinion still and when he showed me Mr Mason's[225] letter I begged him not to accept it for that he was not a proper man for the place. Like most men however under such circumstances it turned out that he had asked my advice for the sake of disregarding it – and when I saw his appointment officially announced I was sorry for it. –

I knew him much better than the letter writer alluded to by you and I have no hesitation in saying that he is *not* deranged – *no such*

[225] John Young Mason (Apr. 18, 1799-Oct. 3, 1859) was born in Greenville, Virginia; graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1816; served in the legislature of Virginia; was a representative in Congress from March 4, 1831, to June 11, 1837; was appointed Secretary of the Navy March 14, 1844; and was the only member of Tyler's cabinet retained by Polk, who made him Attorney General, an office which he held until September 1, 1846, when he succeeded Bancroft as Secretary of the Navy. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 369-370.

thing – But he never was fit for such an office or any other Military office, and I shall certainly urge him to send his resignation by the Mail which conveys this. If he will not do it in a day or two neither he nor his friends can complain if he is superseded– I am grieved to find in the extract from the letter to which you allude that a North Carolina gentleman should deem it a matter of complaint to the Chief Magistrate that the youth whom a Pay Master may have selected for his *Clerk* holds, *political* party opinions of any sort! I feel sure it could not influence you but I repudiate such a slavish doctrine so much that I could not pass it in a response to your letter. The young man is no favorite of mine– quite the reverse but his politics will never hurt any body I am sorry that Stone was foolish enough to enter upon an office that I foresaw he could not hold. He is at this time sick– (a nervous dispepsia) and if that alone would demand his resignation– He has many foes and but few devoted friends & probably his disease may be shown in a great degree to that unfortunate condition– But I repeat this he is not deranged. I decline adding the causes wh I think disqualified him for such an office as there seems to be no occasion for it either as an act of justice to him or to you. .

As for Col Turner I have said heretofore as I repeat now that he is eminently qualified for a much higher station– Reared a Soldier and born brave he would make a better Brigadier General than any one I have heard named for that station. Whether he would be inclined to go to the War it is probable Mr Mason knows better than I do – One thing is certain he is too modest to ask for it if he did.

I write this before I have seen Mr Stone & I shall not put it in the Mail until I have seen him and procured his resignation or given him notice that he ought to be superseded & will be superseded unless he resigns.

Very faithfully yours.

Raleigh Jany 13 1847.

FROM WILLIAM B. HAWKINS

Henderson Depot N.C.
January 19 1847

Mr President

Sir,

The multiplicity of applications to you for office would deter me from approaching you upon this annoying subject, were I left to my self, but the solicitations of many friends thus to act, overrule my scruples of delicacy, and I come forward to ask some situation in your gift, which you from your knowledge of my character &c, may

deem me qualified to sustain. Some of our friends express a sanguine wish that I may procure the superintendency of the branch Mint at Charlotte N. C:–but if from predetermination this cannot be had, I would be extremely pleased to receive at your hands some appointment in the United States army – I am informed that Mr David Stone has, or soon will resign his commission as pay Master; in that event, if it may not seem too suggestive, you will bestow a grateful favor upon me by giving my application your consideration in that point of view.

Let me desire that should you be pleased to consider my application, you will so inform me at an early a day at this place.

Be pleased Sir, to present my best regards to your family & Particularly to Miss Walker.

Most Respectfully Your

Obt. Sert.

FROM WILLIAM M. GREEN

Chapel Hill N.Ca

Jan 25 1847

My Dear Friend

When I first heard of your being called to yr present arduous & responsible station, I resolved that I would never trouble you with any request either for myself or my friends; for I was unwilling to add my name to the multitude that are daily asking appontments at yr hands. And this resolution I have so far kept as merely to bear testimony in company with others, to the fitness of one or two of my young friends for the places which they were seeking. I am now, however, in a good measure *compelled* to break through that rule

James F. Waddell[226] a nephew of Mrs. Green has *by my advice*, and by that chiefly, been induced to abandon the study of the Law, in which he had just been engaged, and offer his services to his country in the ranks of the Army. He has enrolled himself in the company of volunteers just made up in this county, and now on their way to Wilmington. At the time of his enrolment, [*sic*] he was promised the office of Lieutenant; but when the Company came to elect their officers, a man of far less pretensions, but better known to the soldiers, was chosen to fill the place. Being too honourable & patriotic to withdraw

[226] James Fleming Waddell matriculated at the University of North Carolina with the class of 1845, but he did not graduate. On March 8, 1847, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the United States Army; on March 31, 1848, he was made a first lieutenant; and on July 25, 1848, he was mustered out. His nomination for consul at Matamoras was confirmed, August 23, 1850. He served as lieutenant colonel in the Confederate army from 1861 to 1865. He died on April 23, 1892. *United States Senate Executive Journal*, VII, 401, 410; VIII, 112, 221; Heitman, Francis B., *Historical Register and Directory of the United States Army*, I, 991.

the tender of his services, he now finds himself in the ranks as a common soldier, among associates to whom his birth & education & standing in society have hitherto made him a stranger.

Were not his qualifications of a higher order than common I might have him there to work his way up to a higher grade; but inasmuch as I know that he is qualified to render the country service in a more elevated & responsible station, I feel emboldened to commend him to your consideration as one well fitted to fill the place of Captain or Lieutenant in the new levy of 10,000 men just called by Congress.

Mr. Waddell is, as you know, of one of the best families in our State. To a good physical Constitution he joins a fine person & address. His morals are unexceptionable, and his talents would entitle him to a high rank in any Profession. His hand-writing is very good, and he exhibits great readiness & correctness with his pen. His qualifications as a Writer would eminently fit him for a Secretary or Orderly to any officer of high rank, provided neither of the before mentioned offices are open to him.

In thus recommending my nephew (and it done in all sincerity) I not only relieve my mind from a considerable responsibility, but desire to promote the views of a young man who as I trust, lacks only the opportunity to do credit to himself and the service.

Having thus discharged my duty to my self and my young relative, let me beg that you will yield nothing to mere friendship in this matter, unless you are at the same time assured that you are consulting also yr own duty to yrself & the Country.

I am informed that testimonials of the highest character in behalf of Mr Waddell have been signed in Hillsbrough by the members of both Political parties, and forwarded to the Democratic Members of Congress from this State

Will you pardon me for making a still further request that yr attention may be given to this little matter as soon as yr many & high duties will permit,

Any communication on the subject may be addressed to me, or to Mr Waddell himself at Wilmington.

I feel much disposed to add something more to this communication, of a less business like character; but I must reserve it for another and not distant day.

I will only add my hearty prayers for the successful administration of yr high office, and the assurance of my undiminished regard

Very sincerely

Yrs

His Excellency James K. Polk

FROM JOHN D. HAWKINS

I desire most respectfully a private conversation, only for a few moments, with the President of the U. States, when it may be most convenient to him. Will he do me honor, if it is agreeable to him, to name an hour, when he will afford me that pleasure?

I am most respectfully

Feby 1st. 1847.

FROM CHARLES E. SHOBER AND OTHERS[227]

Chapel Hill N. C. Feb. 7th 1847

Hon James K. Polk

Sir

We take pleasure in informing you that the "Dialectic Society" of which you are a member, have appointed us a committee to take steps of procuring a portrait of yourself, which we wish to suspend in our debating hall.

Trusting that your early recollections of our common and hallowed fraternity "the Dialectic Society" may induce you to consent that the portrait may be taken; and desirous of showing our respect for a distinguished fellow-member we hereby request that you will at the earliest date inform us whether and when you will consent to sit to have the portrait drawn.[228]

With high regards, Sir, we are your fellow members

Chas E Shober Pres.
Wm M Howerton } Committee
V. C. Barringer

Committee

FROM JOHN H. WHEELER

I would respectfully call the attention of the President to the appointment of the Superintendent of the Br. Mint at Charlotte; I had

[227] Charles E. Shober of Winston-Salem graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1847, when he declaimed for honors at commencement. He was a member of the board of trustees of his alma mater in October, 1864, when a resolution was passed by the trustees to urge President Jefferson Davis to exempt students from the draft for the Confederate army. Battle, *History of the University*, I, 508, 735.

William M. Howerton graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1847. He competed for honors in 1845 and 1847, served as chief marshal in 1846, and was president of the Dialectic Society in 1846-1847. His literary triumph was a pen and ink paper issued in 1846 for private distribution by its editor, Wm. Matthew Howerton, with the assistance of a lady. *Ibid.*, I, 493, 507, 508, 513, 569, 586.

Victor C. Barringer of Concord, North Carolina, graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1848. In the declamation contest he selected the subject of "Poetry of the Bible" and won second prize at commencement. He had the honor to serve as judge of the International Court, Alexandria, Egypt. *Ibid.*, I, 483, 801, 836.

[228] On May 20, 1847, Daniel Sully began to paint Polk's portrait for the Dialectic Society. John Y. Mason also gave Sully his first sitting for his portrait for the Philanthropic Society of the University of North Carolina. The two oil paintings are now in the possession of the societies. Quaife, *The Diary of James K. Polk*, III, 32.

the appointment at the first organization of the Mint; appointed in 1836 by that firm & devoted republican Gen[l]. Jackson. In 1841 for no cause but my devotion to democratic principles I was removed by Ewing & C[o]. I settled with my successor B. S. Gutherie my heavy bullion and cash accounts of nearly 100,000 $ in one hour after his arrival at Charlotte; this settlement was verified or confirmed by the accounting officers of the treasury and I was most honourably discharged.

On the success of Democratic principles under your auspices, in March 1845, George Woodbury of the Sup Court; Col Johnson late V. President; Gen[l]. Jesse Speight, Col A. H Sevier of the U.S Senate Dr. R. M Patterson Director of the Mint at Phil[a]. all united in a wish to see me restored. In July last, the Democratic candidate for Gov. in N[o]. C[a]. wrote to you and stated that from many sections of the State "no man in N[o] C[a]. possessed more cordially the affection and confidence of our friends."

As regards the appointment now sought, it would seem but an act of political justice to restore it to me. The citizens of Charlotte have united in this request, among whom will be found the names of the high sheriff of the county, the Clerks of the Courts, the members of the Assembly, Editor of the Jeffersonian, and others.

Our delegation from N.C. have suggested the name of others without knowing of my name would be before you, indeed understanding that it would not be. Some who have done this, have notwithstanding have recommended my name. The delegation is divided. Gen[l]. Mc Kay & Mr Dobbin for me; Mr Reid for another; Mr Biggs & Clarke & Daniel for another. This is the Democratic faction only. The whole delegation could by an early application were it necessary have been secured. But with the recommendations already alluded to on file, added also to letters of Hon W.P. Mangum, Walter F. Leake; Col Asa Biggs, T. R. J. Daniel J. C. Dobbin and Governor Graham filed in March '46 it was hardly necessary.

I had the honour of commencing my political career under the Hero of New Orleans, and I wish to continue on with under the same principles.

Should there be any doubt on the President's mind as to the expediency or propriety of my appointment; I will cheerfully submit the *point* as between *my* name and *any other* presented to our Delegation in Congress (the Democratic portion) and by their opinion for the President to regulate this matter.

Respectfully submitted

Wash[ingto]n 12[th] Feb. '47

[*To be continued*]

BOOK REVIEWS

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1824 IN NORTH CAROLINA. By Albert Ray Newsome. The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Volume XXIII, Number 1. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939. Pp. 202. $1.25.)

Professor Newsome's monograph on the presidential election of 1824 in North Carolina is a study of "a democratic upsurge." Such a study is particularly valuable because it illuminates the neglected history of the common man in the Old South. In an introductory chapter Professor Newsome penetrates beneath the surface play of politics to examine the conflicting interests involved in such questions as the tariff, banking policies, and internal improvements. He makes the most realistic exposition known to the reviewer of the internal divisions of the State in regard to internal improvements. He also shows the economic vassalage of the State to its neighbors, Virginia and South Carolina. One-fourth of the monograph is devoted to this sketching of the social and economic background of the election —a proportion entirely justified.

The main thesis of the monograph is that in 1824 there occurred a democratic revolution within North Carolina against the old, aristocratic leadership. This victory of the people over the attempted dictation of veteran politicians was a forerunner of the great democratic upheaval of 1828 in other states. It was a revolt of the undeveloped western and extreme eastern parts of the State, which needed internal improvements, against the more prosperous and favored Middle East that supported a policy of "governmental inactivity."

The monograph describes the strong hostility that developed in the State against the undemocratic method of nominating presidential candidates by the caucus. This factor seems to have been the motivating cause for the emergence of the People's ticket. Since William H. Crawford was the candidate of the old political leaders of the caucus, it became the strategy of the opposing factions to effect a union to defeat him. The chief engineer of this combine, which was given the name of the People's ticket, was Charles Fisher of Rowan County, manager of the Calhoun campaign in North Carolina. At first the People's ticket favored the nationalistic Calhoun, but tried to conciliate

the adherents of Jackson and Adams by promising the support of the ticket to the candidate most likely to defeat Crawford. Early in 1824 it became apparent that this candidate would be Andrew Jackson, whose popularity began to develop with amazing rapidity. The Calhoun boom in the State collapsed when news came that Pennsylvania had rejected the Carolinian in favor of Jackson. The People's ticket then took up the cause of Jackson and won a decisive victory at the polls.

Professor Newsome has minimized the importance of personalities in the campaign in North Carolina. From a study of the campaign literature, he believes that the contest in the State was primarily over issues, the question of internal improvements, of the tariff, and above all, of the overthrow of the old aristocratic leadership that supported Crawford. To the reviewer, on the other hand, the great popularity of Jackson with the electorate seems to have been based on the personal qualities and the military career of "Old Hickory" rather than on his platform. It is also a question in the mind of the reviewer whether "the democratic upsurge" of 1824 was not a transfer of political power from one set of politicians in the State to another rival set.

Professor Newsome's monograph is based on thorough research into a large collection of private papers, public documents, and newspaper sources. The voluminous material has been digested and interpreted by a ripe scholarship. All the newer techniques — map studies, geographic, economic, social approaches—have been utilized to throw light upon the meaning of a political campaign and election. The result is a sound, historical study, which, although limited to only one state, makes a contribution to our national history. Only one serious detraction should be made from the general excellence of the monograph. An opportunity was missed to make illuminating comparisons of the election in North Carolina with that event in other Southern states. Such a comparison is highly desirable in order that the reader may appreciate the full significance of the political revolution in North Carolina.

CLEMENT EATON.

LAFAYETTE COLLEGE,
EASTON, PA.

THE LIFE OF BRAXTON CRAVEN. A Biographical Approach to Social Science. By Jerome Dowd. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1939. Pp. xvi, 246. $3.00.)

Seldom does the biographer have the opportunity enjoyed by Professor Dowd of revising his published work after the lapse of forty odd years. The first edition of his *Life of Braxton Craven* was published in 1896 and now its author has produced a pretentious revision as one of the volumes commemorating the centennial of the beginnings of Duke University, the impressive outgrowth of Doctor Craven's Trinity College. The striking difference between the new and old versions of the life of the inspiring founder is to be found in synthesis and interpretation rather than in essential facts. The author was a student at Trinity during the last years of Craven's presidency and later became a member of the college's teaching staff; while thus employed he wrote the original biography. Since that time he has had a long and distinguished career as a teacher and writer in the field of sociology at the universities of Wisconsin and Oklahoma. It is as a veteran sociologist that he now seeks new meaning and significance in the facts presented in his earlier study.

The facts known about the early life of Braxton Craven can be summarized briefly. Born in 1822 in Randolph County, North Carolina, he spent most of his boyhood in the school of hard work. The disappearance of his father and the early death of his mother deprived him of a normal home environment. When about seven years old he was taken into the family of Nathan Cox, a prosperous Quaker farmer and business man of the community. Here he learned to do all of the tasks familiar to the country boys of his generation in Piedmont North Carolina, but the routine of labor on the farm and in the gristmill, distillery, and sawmill of his foster father was broken by short periods of attendance at nearby country schools. When about fifteen years of age he became a member of the Methodist Church and shortly thereafter began to preach. After studying two years at the Quaker classical school at New Garden (now Guilford College), he was appointed assistant teacher at the recently organized Union Institute at Trinity in his native county. Within a year he became its principal (1842) and for

the next four decades devoted all of his talents to building up the institution which in 1859 received the name of Trinity College. In spite of his very limited formal education, he became a competent and inspiring teacher of nearly every subject in the college curriculum, the master of four foreign languages, and an eloquent and tolerant preacher. At the same time he retained his interest in the practical realities of life, operating his farm, serving as a soldier for a time in the Confederate armies, and always living the part of kind father and good neighbor. His death in 1882 deprived North Carolina of one of her most gifted and useful sons, of a born leader who had persevered in his course in spite of obstacles which at times seemed insurmountable.

Those familiar with the excellent study by Professor George P. Schmidt entitled *The Old Time College President (Columbia University Studies,* Number 317, New York, 1930) will recognize in Doctor Craven a type found in scores of American denominational colleges in the generation preceding the Civil War. Like him these other presidents are remembered as great teachers with amazing ranges of knowledge—they often taught all of the subjects studied in the senior year. They were nearly all preachers who were not too much interested in the mental gymnastics of theology. Many of them engaged in farming and other occupations in order to eke out their small and uncertain salaries, although few were as successful as Doctor Eliphalet Nott of Union College who bequeathed his institution $600,000. Using Professor Dowd's terminology, they were all "Stalwarts" or "Creative Men," endowed with ambition, earnestness, and the genius of leadership.

The picture of Doctor Craven thus far presented may be found in Professor Dowd's biography of 1896 and is open to no serious criticism. In the volume under review, however, the author introduces much new and, on the whole, extraneous material, which the historian considers of very doubtful validity. In attempting to explain why a "Creative Man" sprang from the unpromising soil of Randolph County, for example, he overlooks fairly obvious facts, and fills in the gaps by resorting to imagination and psychoanalysis. Knowing little about the character and personality of Doctor Craven's

mother, he makes her into a paragon of strength by the simple device of assigning to her all of the fine traits later shown by her illustrious son. "I do not doubt," says he, "that a competent psychoanalyst could study what is known of Braxton Craven up to his fifteenth year and form a fairly accurate judgment as to the character of his mother" (p. 30). The boy had unconsciously acquired his mother's characteristics, even though he had little or no recollection of her. By this method all that the biographer needs for an indefinite number of character studies is knowledge of one individual, whose traits may then be fitted to a succession of men and women back to the dawn of time and forward to the end of history. The father is eliminated entirely as a formative influence because he deserted his wife and three children when the eldest, Braxton, was only four or five years old and because he was never seen again. The Quaker family with whom the boy lived is likewise considered of no importance (pp. 27-28), although the author later reverses this opinion (p. 130). The reviewer wonders why the Reverend John Craven (p. 52) is overlooked as a major influence in his nephew's life. After all it was while visiting at his uncle's home that Braxton Craven joined the church, and then, like his uncle, became a Methodist preacher. However interesting hypothetical characters, motives, and situations may be, their creation cannot be recommended to sober historians.

The scholarly mechanics of Professor Dowd's work are extremely rudimentary. There is no bibliography and there are only a few references and footnotes; the main source cited is his 1896 edition. There are many repetitions and contradictions which could have been reduced or eliminated by more careful editing. (Compare for example: pp. 12 and 33; 13 and 32; 8 and 31; 29, 130, and 169-173; 35 and 50; 116-117 and 151.) In spite of its shortcomings, however, the volume may be read with enjoyment by all, and with profit by those capable of distinguishing between substance and shadow; while those who like their history seasoned with a dash of moralizing will find it much to their taste.

Robert T. Thompson.

Rutgers University,
New Brunswick, N. J.

HISTORY OF GASTON COUNTY. By Minnie Stowe Puett. (Charlotte: The Observer Printing House, Inc., 1939. Pp. 218.)

The history of North Carolina will never be properly written until the history of its various counties and sections is correctly presented. Within the past decade more county histories and local historical pamphlets have been published than in any other similar period of the State's history. Nearly one-fourth of the counties of North Carolina have had their history compiled and published to date, the latest such history being that of Gaston County.

In an effort to preserve the local history of the State, the North Carolina Historical Commission about ten years ago sponsored a movement to interest the counties in compiling and recording their histories. In coöperation with the Historical Commission, county historians were named by boards of education in a number of counties. This group of local historians has been responsible for the greater part of local historical publications since 1928, including the history of Gaston.

This book is not a history of Gaston County in the sense of it being a chronological story of its growth. Rather, it tells, in the form of sketches, the early history of that section of the colony and state which was old Tryon County, later Lincoln County, and now Gaston County. Mrs. Puett opens her story with a splendidly written chapter on the geographical features of the county, followed with a still more interesting chapter on the Catawba Indians. This chapter, incidentally, is the best in the book and shows much research on the part of the author. The early settlers then come in for their just share of space.

Of the eighteen chapters, twelve are devoted to the period up to the close of the American Revolution. Five chapters consisting of thirty pages tell the story of Gaston since its formation in 1846. One-half of the text is taken up with genealogical and biographical sketches of early settlers and participants in the Revolution. These sketches could have been used more properly as footnotes.

The author could have enhanced the value of her work had she presented her story in chronological sequence and woven into the text and between local events a sketchy background of state history.

The political history of the county has been ignored. With the exception of an inadequate chapter of six pages on textiles, the economic development is also omitted, which seems strange when it is recalled that Gaston is one of the chief textile manufacturing counties of the United States, and ranks very high in agricultural production. The reader looks in vain for a chapter on the phenomenal commercial growth of Gastonia. Likewise the author fails to make any mention of the remarkable educational development of the county.

Four pages outline the history of Goshen church and six pages are given to the rise and development of Catholicism in Gaston County, the latter being the minority religious organization. No other mention is made of church history, although three denominations represented in that section are older than the county.

In a few instances typographical errors occur. "King's Mountain" is used consistently throughout the text for "Kings Mountain."

Committees of Safety *were* organized in all of the counties (p. 98) and assumed unto themselves the functions of civil government. Also, Tryon County was one of the three or four most loyal counties in the colony to the British cause in 1775-83. Tryon was much longer than eighty miles (p. 99) and lost but little territory to South Carolina by the survey of 1772.

There was no "Tryon Declaration of Independence" of August 14, 1775 (p. 103). The Committee of Safety termed it "An Association" to be in effect "until a reconciliation shall take place between Great Britain and America on Constitutional principles."

No references are quoted and there is no bibliography of source materials used. Unfortunately, county records were not consulted in compiling the book, and too much dependence was placed on printed sources already available. There is a good index.

With all of its failures, however, such volumes as this one are of much importance. They serve to awaken an interest in local history in the county concerned. This book will very properly focus attention upon Gaston's history among the thousands of residents of that county. The author's work has not

been in vain if nothing more is accomplished than just that. This book has the advantage of having been written clearly and entertainingly. The material included becomes accessible to the research student and to any other person interested in procuring the information thus revealed and preserved. It is hoped that county historians of other counties will follow Mrs. Puett's example and make available the historical treasures of their counties.

CLARENCE W. GRIFFIN.

FOREST CITY, N. C.

CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION IN THE SOUTHERN TEXTILE STATES. By Elizabeth H. Davidson. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939. Pp. 302. $4.00.)

This study of child labor legislation is an important contribution to the growing literature of Southern industrialization. In making the survey, the author has elected to concentrate her attention upon four Southern States: North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. These are the leading textile states, and outside the textile industry child labor constituted a problem of no great magnitude. Only brief sketches are given of legislation in Virginia, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Florida.

The use of child labor in textile mills was by no means limited to the South. It simply happened that the South experienced its industrial growing pains at a later time than the East. During the 1880's when the establishment of a cotton mill in the South was regarded as a distinct service to the community, there was no thought of restricting child labor. Many a family was rescued from the poverty of worn-out farms by the mills, and children of such families were accustomed to work. Mill work was regarded as no worse than farm work. Very small children were sometimes taken to the mills because their laboring parents had no place to leave them. But manufacturers found child labor useful and cheap and keenly resented attempts of reformers to procure legislation against it.

Strictly speaking, the beginning of child labor legislation in the Southern textile states came in Alabama during the legislative session of 1886-87. A statute was passed which limited the working day of children under fourteen years of age in

manufacturing plants to eight hours a day and which forbade children younger than fifteen years to work in iron or coal mines. This measure, however, elicited little press comment, and there is no evidence that it was really ever enforced. Cotton mill counties soon secured exemptions, and the law was repealed for the state as a whole in 1895.

Despite the lack of local concern, this "Crime of '94-'95" served to focus the attention of the American Federation of Labor on the problem of child labor in the South. That organization soon sent a full-time worker, Miss Irene Ashby (later Mrs. Macfadyen), to Alabama to coöperate with the Alabama Federation of Women's Clubs and other interested groups in agitating for the passage of an effective child labor law.

From Alabama Miss Ashby's work branched out into other Southern States. Results were at first distinctly disappointing. Many Southerners were suspicious of organized labor and resented its interference. The reformers, however, had the satisfaction of seeing moderately good child labor laws enacted by 1903 in each of the four Southern textile states except Georgia. Georgia followed suit three years later. The basic feature of most of these early laws was a twelve-year limit for child labor with exemptions for orphans and children with dependent parents.

The child labor controversy around the turn of the century produced a widespread and heated debate on Southern labor conditions. The Northern press was prone to picture Southern mill children as "little slaves chained to machines." These aspersions Southerners resented. Even Southern reformers did not always welcome Northern intervention, though they themselves denounced Southern manufacturers for perpetuating the system of child labor. Their arguments were chiefly humanitarian. They pointed out that child workers were being stunted in their physical and mental development. Long hours of work left no opportunity for recreation and education. Labor leaders asserted, too, that cheap child labor depressed the general wage scale for adults.

To these charges, the manufacturers retorted that they employed children only because parents insisted on it, that mill work was not heavy or injurious, and that children were better

off in the mills than running the streets. Those who wanted to go to school could do so. The prevailing wage and hour scale was necessary in order for Southern mills to compete with older and better established Northern mills. The reformers were charged with being tools of Northern mill interests; the workers, themselves, rarely voiced objections to the system.

In 1904 the National Child Labor Committee was organized through the efforts of Edgar G. Murphy, an Episcopal clergyman of Montgomery, Alabama, and other interested persons. Though national in scope, this organization was quite active in the South. Dr. A. J. McKelway of Charlotte, North Carolina, was its secretary for this area.

Efforts to enact national child labor legislation proved ineffective. The Beveridge Amendment of 1907 failed of passage in Congress, and two regulatory statutes of Congress were declared uncontitutional by the Supreme Court. A child labor amendment, passed by Congress in 1924, was not ratified by the requisite number of states.

Though Southerners in Congress generally opposed federal child labor legislation on the grounds that it was violative of state rights, the Southern States in recent years have largely banned child labor. North Carolina, for example, by 1937 had established a general age limit of sixteen years, with exceptions in the case of restricted employment outside of school hours. Manufacturers were gradually persuaded to accept this type of regulation.

In recounting the story of the enactment of child labor legislation in the South, Miss Davidson has done a faithful job of reporting. She has consulted a wide range of sources and has carefully organized her findings. For quick reference, the tabulated summary of Southern child labor legislation by state and by year is most useful. The classified bibliography of thirteen pages is proof of the author's initiative and industry.

Though the merits of the book far outweigh its demerits, the reviewer wonders if the material could not have been presented in a little more readable form. Details of long controversies do not always seem to contribute to the essential conclusions. One follows many a bill through the legislative mill only to find that it failed of passage. The organization of the narra-

tive by states, while in many ways justifiable, is in others unfortunate. It involves the repeated telling of a story which differs in setting and characters but not in plot. Not a great deal of insight is given into the actual mill conditions which gave rise to the agitation for child labor legislation. The reviewer, for one, would like to know more about those lazy "dinner-toting" fathers who subsisted on the earnings of their minor children.

W. A. Mabry.

Mount Union College,
Alliance, Ohio

The Other Half of Old New Orleans. Edited by E. Merton Coulter. (University, La.: Louisiana State University Press. 1939. Pp. 108. $2.00.)

This little volume consists of a seven-page introduction by the editor, and fifty-three short sketches of scenes and characters from the recorder's court of the Second Municipality of New Orleans. All of these sketches were originally published in the *Picayune*, between March 7, 1840, and January 31, 1841; seventeen of them, or almost a third, in the one month of September.

The identity of their anonymous author is not certainly known, but Professor Coulter feels that there is good reason to believe that he was George W. Kendell, a co-founder, and for some years an editor of the *Picayune*. Whoever he was, he had read widely, had acquired considerable miscellaneous information, and was the possessor of an uninhabited imagination, and of a rather characteristically American sense of humor, which depended for effect largely upon exaggeration. From internal evidence it seems probable that he was an admirer of Charles Dickens, and had shortly before he wrote these sketches been enjoying the *Sketches by Boz* and *The Pickwick Papers*, for a large number of the New Orleans ne'er do-wells, who appeared before Judge Baldwin, the recorder, are made to say that the "vorld is a werry wicious vicked vorld," that the "veather vas orful varm," or that they "lacked available funds." New Orleans was truly a cosmopolitan city, and those unfortunates who were thrown into the calaboose, were, like their betters, of many different races and tongues, but our re-

porter evidently felt that no dialect was quite so suggestive and humorous as that of Mr. Sam Weller and his cronies.

The book is amusingly illustrated by drawings, which are also faintly reminiscent of those found in Dickens's published "vorks." It is divided into seven sections, or chapters, but the subject matter of all the chapters is substantially similar. In fact, the sketches themselves are all cut from a single pattern. Most of them deal with the subject of intoxication. Drunkards argued with lamp posts, harangued picket fences, composed corny verses, insulted the police, and went to sleep on the sidewalks. They behaved in 1840 very much as they do in 1939; and then, as now, the ruling classes tried to discourage the abuse of alcohol by the laboring poor.

Except for an occasional reference to the balmy climate, the sketches might as well have been written about the police courts of New York, or any other city with a heterogeneous population. Some local color is introduced by the use of the words "Charley" for watchman, "blue" for intoxicated, and "banquette" for sidewalk, but that great New Orleans color, the deep brunette, including the Negro, the mulatto, the quadroon, and the octoroon, is not so much as mentioned. The exotic aspect of New Orleans vice is unmentioned. There is no absinthe, only old Monongahela, which was common tipple in all the west. Gambling, a very prevalent vice of both halves of New Orleans society is almost entirely ignored; and sex raises its serpentine head in only two or three of the sketches. Governor Long and Mayor Maestri already have their hands so full that it would be cruel to suggest another investigation, but just why this little book was compiled and published does offer something of a problem. It is, of course, obvious that it was produced with a view to the gift shop rather than the library. In spite of an illusion by an irate Dutchman to his adversary as a "tam shon of a pitch," there is little in these reports of a New Orleans police court to shock Aunt Lucy. The book will therefore serve admirably as a substitute for a two dollar greeting card. It is also well adapted to adorn the bedside table in the guest room.

THOMAS CARY JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA,
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

A Century of Social Thought. A Series of Lectures Delivered at Duke University during the Academic Year 1938-1939 as a Part of the Centennial Celebration of That Institution. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1939. Pp. 172. $2.00.)

This volume consists of seven lectures given at Duke University by seven eminent specialists on as many different topics. Charles H. Judd discusses "An Evolving Conception of General Education"; Harold G. Moulton, "One Hundred Years of Economics"; Henry Sloane Coffin, "Religion in the Last Hundred Years"; John C. Merriam, "Science and Belief"; Pitirim Alexandrovitch Sorokin, "Socio-Cultural Trends in Euro-American Culture During the Last Hundred Years"; Robert Moses, "Plan and Performance"; and Roscoe Pound, "American Juristic Thinking in the Twentieth Century." While each lecture forms a unity in itself, the volume as a whole shows a unified treatment, in scholarly manner, of these important phases of "educational and cultural progress" of the past century, as is pointed out by Robert S. Rankin, who writes the preface.

The chapter by Judd is an important contribution to the history of American education. It serves also to recall his controversy in 1918 with another distinguished American educator (Paul Monroe) over the long debated question whether the public school system of the United States is indigenous or was borrowed about a century ago from Prussia. Judd said it was so borrowed. Monroe said that it was indigenous. The argument, which was marked by a bit of partisanship and a lack of engaging humor, was carried on in *The New Republic* (April 20, 1918) and in *School and Society* (June 15, June 29, and September 7, 1918). Judd still insists that the educational system of the United States at the time of the origins of Duke University (1839) "conformed in the main to the pattern of the dual educational systems of Europe." We may never know the answer to the mooted question, but it is a fact that many American observers of European education a century ago did praise the Prussian school system and that their reports were very influential in this country, if we may believe the books on American education history.

Edgar W. Knight.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

HISTORICAL NEWS

On October 20 the Colonel Polk Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, unveiled a marker under the "Henry Clay Oak," on East North Street, Raleigh. Dr. C. C. Crittenden delivered an address on Clay's life, emphasizing the presidential campaign of 1844. The inscription on the marker reads as follows: "HENRY CLAY OAK: Henry Clay, on a visit to this city, wrote the famous Raleigh Letter, April 17, 1844, opposing the annexation of Texas. Many authorities believe that this statement cost him the Presidential election of 1844. According to tradition, Clay wrote the letter while sitting under this oak tree in the yard of Colonel William Polk, at whose home he was a guest."

Homecoming day for Pender County was celebrated at Burgaw, the county seat, on November 7. Historical highway markers were dedicated for Hinton James, first student to enter the University of North Carolina and later a civil engineer of note; Samuel Ashe, president of the North Carolina Council of Safety, 1776, one of the first three state judges, and governor, 1795-1798; Alexander Lillington, leader in the Revolution and Whig colonel at the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, 1776; and S. S. Satchwell, doctor of medicine, a founder of the North Carolina Medical Association, head of a Confederate hospital during a part of the War for Southern Independence, and first president of the North Carolina State Board of Health. Addresses were delivered by Hon. Graham A. Barden, Congressman from the Third District; Dr. G. M. Cooper, Assistant State Health Officer; Dr. Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina; and Dr. C. C. Crittenden, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

The town of Fayetteville held a celebration, November 19-25, commemorating the 200th anniversary of the coming of the Scottish highlanders to the Cape Fear Valley and the 150th anniversary of North Carolina's ratification of the Federal Constitution, the chartering of the University of North Carolina, the ceding of the Tennessee territory to the Federal govern-

ment, and the meeting of Grand Lodge of Masons. Paul Green's historic drama, *The Highland Call*, was presented for five successive nights in the old Fayetteville Opera House, and on November 21 a historical pageant, *To Make Men Free*, was staged on the balcony of the old Market House, the site of the building in which the North Carolina convention ratified the Federal Constitution, November 21, 1789. Governor Hoey of North Carolina, Governor Cooper of Tennessee, and many other prominent persons took part in the celebration.

The State Literary and Historical Association, the Folk-Lore Society, the State Art Society, the Archaeological Society, and the Society for the Preservation of Antiquities (each a North Carolina state-wide organization) all held sessions in Raleigh, December 6-9. The thirty-ninth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association was held at the Carolina Hotel, Thursday and Friday, December 7-8. On Thursday evening Mrs. Bernice Kelly Harris, of Seaboard, gave a talk, "After a First Book," after which Dr. A. R. Newsome delivered the presidential address, "North Carolina's Ratification of the Federal Constitution." A reception to members and guests of the Association and of the allied organizations was then held. At the Friday morning meeting the program including the following: "Fifty Years of North Carolina State College," by Dr. David A. Lockmiller of Raleigh; "My First Chapel Hill Commencement," by Mrs. Hope Summerell Chamberlain of Chapel Hill; a review of North Carolina books of the year, by Dr. Archibald Henderson of Chapel Hill; and a business meeting. The final meeting was held Friday night in the Hugh Morson High School auditorium. Dr. Wallace E. Caldwell, of Chapel Hill, announced the Mayflower Cup award for 1939 and presented a replica to the winner, Mrs. Bernice Kelly Harris, whose book, *Purslane*, had been adjudged the best original work by a resident North Carolinian during the year ending August 31. Mr. John Temple Graves, Junior, of the editorial staff of the *Birmingham Age-Herald*, then delivered an address, "The Eternal South," which brought the session to a close.

The twenty-eighth annual session of the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society was held at the Carolina Hotel in Raleigh, Friday afternoon, December 8, with the following program: presidential address, "Place Names in North Carolina," by Dr. George P. Wilson, of Greensboro; "Folk-Similes," by Dr. J. D. Clark, of Raleigh; "Serbian Folk-Songs," by Professor Phillip Furnas, of Guilford College; "English and Scottish Ballads and Other Folk-Songs Collected in North Carolina"; the playing of records electrically transcribed during the summer of 1939, by Dr. Frank C. Brown, of Durham; and a business meeting.

The North Carolina State Art Society held its annual session on Wednesday and Thursday, December 6-7. On Wednesday evening, at the Carolina Hotel, Mr. Alfred M. Frankfurter, editor of *The Art News*, gave an illustrated lecture, "Masterpieces of Art at the New York World's Fair," and afterwards, in the Society's gallery on the second floor of the Supreme Court Building, a reception was given and a special exhibition of paintings was shown. At the Carolina Hotel a business meeting of the Society was held Thursday morning and the Board of Directors met that afternoon.

The seventh annual session of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina was held Saturday morning, December 9, in the Board Room of the State Agricultural Building. Dr. Robert Wauchope, of the University of Georgia's Department of Anthropology, delivered an address, "Recent Developments in the Archaeology of Georgia," which was followed by a business meeting.

The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities took out a charter on October 4. The organization meeting was held on October 20 in the Hall of the House of Representatives in the State Capitol, when a constitution and by-laws were adopted and the following principal officers were elected: president, Dr. Joseph Hyde Pratt, Chapel Hill; first vice president, Mr. James Boyd, Southern Pines; secretary-treasurer, Mrs. C. A. Gosney, Raleigh. The Society's Board of Directors and Advisory Committee met separately at the Carolina Hotel, Thursday morning, December 7, and that aft-

ernoon at the same place a meeting of the Society was held with the following program: "The Restoration of Tryon's Palace," by Miss Gertrude Carraway, of New Bern; "The Coördination of Objectives in Historical and Archaeological Work in North Carolina," by Mr. Harry T. Davis, of Raleigh; "Restoring the Ancient Town of Bath," by Rev. A. C. D. Noe, of Bath; "The Society's First Branch—in Guilford County," by Mr. McDaniel Lewis, of Greensboro; and a business meeting.

Dr. A. R. Newsome of the University of North Carolina presided at the various sessions of the annual meeting of the Socity of American Archivists at Annapolis, Maryland, October 13-14. His presidential address, "The Archivist in American Scholarship," was published in *The American Archivist*, Vol. II, No. 4 (October, 1939). On November 21 he spoke at Duke University at exercises commemorating North Carolina's ratification of the Federal Constitution. On November 25 in Washington, D. C., he met with Society of American Archivists' Committee on Uniform State Archival Legislation, of which he is chairman, working on the preparation of a model law dealing with the administration of state and local archives.

Dr. Loren C. Mackinney of the University of North Carolina is the state representative of the membership committee of the American Historical Association. He will be glad to receive applications for membership in the Association, and also the names of persons who might be interested in joining.

Dr. Howard K. Beale of the University of North Carolina read a paper, "On Rewriting the History of Reconstruction," at the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Lexington, Kentucky, November 3.

Dr. J. C. Russell of the University of North Carolina presented a paper, "Some Effects of Rapid and Continuous Population Change," at the autumn meeting of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, November 17.

Dr. D. A. Lockmiller has been appointed acting head of the Department of History and Government at State College.

Dr. J. C. Sitterson of the University of North Carolina read a paper, "Financing and Marketing the Sugar Crop of the Old South," at the meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Lexington, Kentcuky, November 3.

At the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Lexington, Kentucky, Dr. B. B. Kendrick of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina was elected vice president of the Association.

Dr. A. M. Arnett of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina gave a report on Federal aid to libraries at the annual session of the North Carolina Library Association at Southern Pines, October 27.

The American Historical Review, Vol. XLV, No. 1 (October, 1939), includes an article by Dr. W. P. Cumming of Davidson College, "The Earliest Permanent Settlement in Carolina: Nathaniel Batts and the Comberford Map."

Present at the third annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists at Annapolis, Maryland, October 13 and 14, were the following from North Carolina: Dr. A. R. Newsome, of the University of North Carolina; Dr. C. C. Crittenden and Mr. D. L. Corbitt, of the North Carolina Historical Commission; and Mr. S. B. Marley, of the Historical Records Survey. Dr. Newsome, for the third time president of the Society, delivered the presidential address, and Dr. Crittenden read at one of the sessions a paper, "Publication Policies for Archival and Historical Agencies."

The Survey of Federal Archives is now issuing mimeographed inventories of Federal records in North Carolina. Inventories of the records of the Departments of Agriculture, Justice, the Treasury, and the Navy have been distributed to various government agencies, libraries, and historical associations throughout the country. Those of the Departments of Commerce and the Interior, the United States Courts, and the War Department are nearing completion and will be distributed at an early date.

On August 31 the Historical Records Survey of the Works Projects Administration was terminated as a single nation-wide project, and was replaced by a series of locally sponsored projects, technical control over which was retained by Dr. Luther H. Evans as national director and by a national technical project sponsored by the Library of Congress. The State Historical Commission acts as sponsor for the local project in North Carolina, which went into operation September 1 with Mr. Dan Lacy as state supervisor and with Mr. Colbert F. Crutchfield as assistant state supervisor. The Survey has now completed its inventory of the county archives (North Carolina is the first state in which this phase of the work has been successfully concluded), and is now engaged in preparing inventories of state and church archives and guides to manuscript collections. More than one hundred workers are on its pay roll.

The North Carolina Historical Commission announces the publication of *The Historical Records of North Carolina*, Volume III, *The County Records, Nash-Yancey*, edited by Charles Christopher Crittenden and Dan Lacy. This completes the publication of inventories of the records, known to exist, of all the North Carolina counties, extant and extinct. The copy for this volume and for the preceding volumes of the series was prepared by the Historical Records Survey, whose work is described above. The series contains merely lists of the county records, and not copies or calendars of these records. No genealogical information is included. The series is distributed by the Historical Commission free of charge except for a mailing fee of twenty-five cents per volume.

Books received include: *North Carolina: A Guide to the Old North State*. Compiled and written by the Federal Writers' Project of the Federal Works Agency, Works Projects Administration (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939); Dwight L. Dumond, *Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. 1939); Robert Leroy Hilldrup, *The Life and Times of Edmund Pendleton* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939); Eugene Tenbroeck Mudge, *The*

Social Philosophy of John Taylor of Caroline (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939); David A. Lockmiller, *History of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering of the University of North Carolina, 1889-1939* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Company. 1939); Augustus White Long, *Son of Carolina* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1939); Stanley John Folmsbee, *Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tennessee, 1796-1845* (Knoxville: The East Tennessee Historical Society. 1939); Joseph Carlyle Sitterson, *The Secession Movement in North Carolina, The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science,* Vol. XXIII, No. 2. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939); Oliver Perry Chitwood, *John Tyler: Champion of the Old South* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1939); William Couper, *One Hundred Years at V. M. I.,* two volumes (Richmond: Garrett and Massie. c. 1939).

The following is published by request: The non-receipt by a subscriber of any European chemical or other scientific journal seriously needed as research material should be promptly reported to the American Documentation Institute. The Cultural Relations Committee of ADI, which coöperates closely with the Cultural Relations Division of the Department of State, is working on this problem, and hopes to be able to surmount such war obstacles as interrupted transportation, embargoes, and censorship, which so grievously affected the progress of research during the last war. The principle should be established, if possible, that the materials of research having no relation to war shall continue to pass freely, regardless of the countries of origin or destination. Reports, with full details of where subscription was placed and name and address of subscriber, volume, date, and number of last issue received, should be addressed to: American Documentation Institute, Bibliofilm Service, c/o U. S. Department of Agriculture Library, Washington, D. C.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Dr. Richard E. Yates is an assistant professor of political science in Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas.

Dr. Delbert Harold Gilpatrick is a professor of history in Furman University, Greenville, South Carolina.

Miss Elizabeth Gregory McPherson is an assistant in the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.